

THE MILITIA MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRORISM, TECHNOLOGY,
AND GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

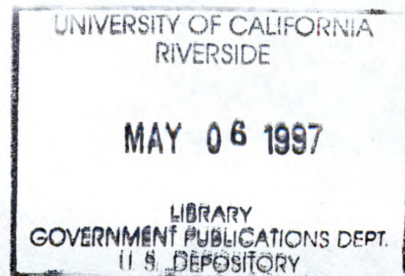
ON

EXAMINING THE SCOPE OF MILITIA ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED
STATES, THE NATURE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES, THEIR REASON FOR EX-
ISTENCE, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY POSE A THREAT TO
AMERICAN CITIZENS

JUNE 15, 1995

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THE MILITIA MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1995

**U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRORISM, TECHNOLOGY,
AND GOVERNMENT INFORMATION,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
*Washington, DC.***

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:38 a.m., in room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Arlen Specter (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Also present: Senators Thompson, Abraham, Kohl, Leahy, Feinstein, and Kyl (ex officio).

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ARLEN SPECTER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Senator SPECTER. The hearings of the Subcommittee on Terrorism of the Judiciary Committee will now come to order.

These hearings have been convened to inquire into a number of questions. First, to what extent, if at all, do the militia pose a threat to public safety and the Federal Government, and the other side of that coin is to what extent are Americans joining the militia because they feel, rightly or wrongly, that the Federal Government poses a threat to their constitutional rights.

There has been substantial evidence of growing power with the militia, and we have seen substantial numbers of men and women in uniform, under arms, organizing, all of which is within their constitutional rights. However, with the growth of the militia in many States, there is at least some reason to raise an inquiry as to whether there is a threat to public safety. I am not saying this is the case, but I think it is a question which ought to be answered.

There are indications that there are some 224 militias operating in this country; that the militias are active in 39 States and are rumored to be present in other States. These militias exist notwithstanding laws in some States which prohibit the formation of militias, and not to say that these militias as they are constituted do or do not violate any State laws, but those are questions which require some inquiry.

I think it is no coincidence that Waco occurred on April 19, 1993, and the Oklahoma City bombing occurred precisely 2 years to the day after the Waco incident. Whatever happened at Waco, there is absolutely no justification for the bombing in Oklahoma City. However, I do believe, and have said so publicly before, including on the

floor of the Senate, that the Judiciary Committee should have had hearings on Waco, and I had asked for them some 2 years ago.

I further believe, and have said on the Senate floor, that there ought to be hearings on Ruby Ridge, ID, as well. I even took the step to bring that issue to a vote in the Senate, realizing full well that there would not be a successful resolution of that on the Senate floor. But I believe that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction in America today on many lines, rightly or wrongly, and that these questions ought to be aired and ought to be ventilated.

There is a concern about second amendment rights. I think it ought to be articulated at this juncture that the Supreme Court of the United States, in *United States v. Miller*, has ruled with regard to the second amendment that it must be interpreted and applied only in the context of safeguarding the continuation and effectiveness of the State militia, and the Supreme Court has also limited the right to raise a militia to States in the case of *Presser v. Illinois*, albeit a case of long standing, an old case, in 1886.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has successfully fought violent, racist militia groups by invoking infrequently used State prohibitions against militias and paramilitary training in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas in 1982.

There has been some report that the suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing did attend a meeting of the Michigan Militia and we will be inquiring into that subject today.

I have an open mind on all of the questions involved here in terms of trying to see if these militias do pose a clear and present danger. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have made it plain that there is a broad ambit of freedom of speech, and that has protected our country and led to the greatest country in the history of the world, but there is an ending point if there is violence or the imminent threat of violence. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes articulated it that freedom of speech ends when you falsely cry "fire" in a crowded theater.

There is also an awareness and a recognition that here in Washington we derive the power of the Government from the consent of the governed, and it is no coincidence that we have had the most stable government in the history of the world because of our constitutional rights. They have to be protected, as well as the public safety.

I am now delighted to yield to our distinguished ranking member, Senator Kohl.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERB KOHL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, many Americans are concerned by the extreme positions that some militia members have taken and by the few militia members who have taken the step from hateful speech to actual violence. So we are looking forward today to learning more about these militias that have received so much attention recently.

The hatred that some members of these groups harbor for African-Americans, foreigners, and government is particularly disturbing in light of the escalating political violence in our country. Let

me give you a few examples of what militia members have done and said.

When 3 members of the Michigan Militia were stopped last year by police, their car contained 6 loaded semi-automatic weapons, 3 revolvers, 700 rounds of ammunition, night vision goggles, gas masks, knives, bayonets, two-way radios, and notes indicating that the men were conducting night surveillance of law enforcement officials. Although the men were arrested on weapons charges, they failed to appear at their arraignment. Instead, 50 militia members went to the courthouse, calling the police "punks in badges" and threatening to shoot any law enforcement official who might pull them over.

Last fall, four members of a militia group in Virginia called the Blue Ridge Hunt Club were charged with stockpiling machine guns, and had planned to raid a nearby National Guard armory. A computer disk seized by Federal investigators read,

We will destroy targets such as telephone relay centers, bridges, fuel storage tanks, communications towers, radio stations, airports, et cetera * * * human targets will be engaged when it is beneficial to the cause to eliminate particular individuals who oppose us, like troops, police, political figures, snitches, et cetera.

Just 3 months ago, two members of the Minnesota Patriots Council were convicted of conspiracy charges for planning to use a lethal biological poison to kill Federal employees and law enforcement agents.

In addition to violent acts, some militias have been spreading a gospel of hate. For example, a Militia of Montana newsletter entitled "Taking Aim" advertised a video for sale entitled "Big Sister is Watching You." The ad went on to say, and I quote, "Hillary's Hell Cats, or if you like, Gore's Whores. Hillary's regiment of hardened, militant feminists includes lesbians, sex perverts, child molester advocates, Christian haters and the most doctrinaire of communists. One heads the FBI, another the IRS."

A recent press release by the Michigan Militia railed against numerous Federal judges, motion picture executives, and law enforcement officials for being part of a conspiracy to control the American people.

A flyer distributed at Montana Militia meetings depicts Adolph Hitler saluting, with a caption saying "All in favor of gun control, raise your right hand." The caption continues, "To save America from these Nazi lovers, we must destroy gun control." This language is unacceptable, as well as sophomoric.

Words that incite violence, regardless of political motivation, cannot be tolerated. After all, the Constitution does not require that a government stand by helplessly when extremist ideas, combined with an arsenal of weaponry, are used to intimidate American citizens. As Justice Jackson wrote, "The Constitution is not a suicide pact."

Mr. Chairman, individuals and organizations that oppose Government policies should feel free to do so, but they must fight for their ideas in the nonviolent democratic ways envisioned by the Founding Fathers that they purport to admire. From the Presidency of Thomas Jefferson to the 1994 election, American history is filled with dramatic, but peaceful changes in power. Elections, not guns, are the tools of change crafted by the Framers and em-

bedded in our Constitution. These are the instruments of democracy, which is, to paraphrase Winston Churchill, the worst system of government except for all the rest.

Thank you.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kohl.

We now turn to two distinguished U.S. Senators. The order of appearance, both having come here in the 1978 elections, is alphabetical. We turn to the distinguished Senator from Montana, Senator Baucus. Welcome.

STATEMENT OF HON. MAX BAUCUS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA

Senator BAUCUS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I very much thank you for calling this hearing and inviting me to come and testify.

I will address three questions: One, what are the Montana militia groups like; two, what problems, if any, do they cause in Montana; and, three, what solutions to these problems exist?

First, however, I would like to say this. I understand anger with Government. The Government is not perfect, and often people are right to be angry, but those who express their anger through hate rhetoric and violence are few. The vast, vast majority of Montanans reject hate, obey the law, treat each other with courtesy, and cherish our peaceful democratic values. That is true for conservatives, liberals, Democrats, Republicans, property owners, environmentalists, gun controllers, NRA members, everybody. Militia groups are the exception, and they are a small exception.

Let me begin by describing the militias and their leaders. The movement has three groups, formally separate, but informally linked by philosophy and personal ties: The Militia of Montana in the northwestern town of Noxon, the North American Volunteer Militia to the south in Darby, and the Freemen in the large eastern counties of our State. Their following is quite small. Law enforcement officers who study them closely believe that there are about 25 to 30 hardcore leaders, while about 500 people have casually attended militia meetings.

The leaders tend to share two fundamental beliefs. One is suspicion of Government, ranging from fears of world government, to refusing common obligations of citizenship, like getting a driver's license or getting Social Security cards. The second is a deep strain of racism and anti-Semitism. The Militia of Montana is cautious about exposing this. Its literature uses code words like "banking elites," rather than open attacks, and when challenged militia leaders issue quasi-denials like this one, "If the bulk of the banking elite are Jewish, is that anti-Semitic? The people who are doing this are the international banking elite and if they are all Jews, so be it, but that's not the case. I don't care if they're Arabs or monkeys".

The Freemen, however, are more open. One, now ducking a Federal warrant for tax evasion, says people who are not white are beasts, only whites go to heaven, and Jews are children of Satan. As far as I can tell, this rhetoric of theirs is really just a PR effort. It is meant to attract people who are angry at Government, but would be repelled by the leaders' real agenda.

A document filed at the Sanders County courthouse in 1992 by the Militia of Montana founder illustrates that agenda quite well. In it, he uses the *Dred Scott* decision to claim that only the white race has rights, and explicitly repudiates the United States of America declaring, "I am not now, nor have I ever been a citizen of the United States."

With these groups has come an atmosphere of terror. Since the militias formed, we have had anti-Semitic incidents all over our State. A constituent from Ravalli County wrote me in April referring to North American Volunteer Militia members as follows.

You see Freemen with guns in the post office, grocery store and gas stations. If it gets to any one of them that a person doesn't like the Freemen, they will call or confront a person face to face. They tell people that we are all going to "die like the Jews."

Threats against law enforcement are routine. Police chief Larry Rose in Darby, MT, had organized private citizens to protect his house from bomb threats. Freemen told my friend, Nick Murnion, the Garfield County attorney, that they would hang him from a bridge. And this is spreading outside our State. The militias' mail order catalog, as referred to by Senator Kohl, is full of videos and booklets telling people how to make improvised munitions and booby traps, offering sniper training, and so on, accompanied by other videos that hint at imminent disaster if Americans don't resist.

Last November, Mr. Trochmann told a journalist that the Government might be planning a large destructive event for April 19, 1995. That was last November. This was, of course, the day of the Oklahoma City bombing. There may be no connection, but it is quite certain that people are reading what he puts out. Many of them are disturbed and some of them may well act upon it.

So what is the solution? Let me first say what is not. We need not compromise our basic rights to free speech, to bear arms, free association, and privacy in any way. The real solution comes in three parts. First, enforce our laws. Montana has a law against paramilitary training. Tax evasion and threatening police officers are against the law everywhere as far as I know. We know who is violating these laws and we need no new wiretapping authority to find them. In some cases, a small rural police department might just need an extra officer and a little bit more new equipment. That is about all that is needed.

Second, address the concerns that lead ordinary people to be angry and suspicious of Government. One reason is economic pressure. We all know that economic problems are complex. They are difficult, but some of it is just making sure our Government uses more common sense. I will give you an example.

In February, some loggers in Montana from Flathead Valley called me up. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration, they said, had ordered them to be in steel-toed, chain saw-resistant boots for work. They had two weeks' grace period, and after that it was no boots, no work.

Well, steel-toed boots may sound good to someone in Washington, DC, but in Montana they can make the job more dangerous. On a cold day, they make your feet go numb and that makes it easier to slip on a steep hill, and that is no joke when you are holding

a live chain saw. These loggers acted fast so I could get to the Secretary of Labor and stop the regulations, but nobody at a desk in Washington, DC, should be telling people in the Flathead what kind of shoes to wear. You can expect people rightfully to be mad about that.

Third, we as a country must set clear standards of right and wrong. Everyone, even people with good reason to be angry, must live by those standards. We all have a responsibility to respect our neighbors, respect law enforcement, and obey the law, and we all must understand that hate and anti-Semitism are wrong. They have no place in Montana and no place in America.

Montanans know about right and wrong. The few dozen militia leaders get a lot of attention, but the thousands of Montanans who stand up for what is right are far more important. They deserve the attention. They may not get the headlines, but they are the real story.

It is the people in law enforcement who put themselves on the line to keep their friends and neighbors safe, the community human rights groups who expose the militias for what they are, teachers making sure students know the truth, parents telling their children that hate is wrong; that is what is really important and that is why I am so proud to be here representing Montanans today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I ask consent that my written statement be in the record, and I also have some supporting documents that I would like to get in as well.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Baucus. They will all be made a part of the record.

[The prepared statement and supporting documents of Senator Baucus follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR MAX BAUCUS

Thank you for calling this hearing and inviting me to testify.

Since the Oklahoma City bombing, we have learned a great deal about the so-called "militia" movement in this country. I do not claim any special expertise on the national phenomenon. But I have watched it develop in my own state, and I am very pleased to relay what I know to the Subcommittee.

In essence, I would like to address three questions. First, what are the Montana militia groups like, and who leads them? Second, what problems, if any, have they caused in Montana? And third, what solutions to these problems exist?

First, however, I would say this. I understand anger with government. Often people are right to be angry at government. But those who express their anger through hate rhetoric and violence are few. The vast, vast majority of Montanans reject hate, obey the law and cherish our peaceful, democratic values. That is true for conservatives liberals, Democrats, Republicans, property owners, environmentalists, gun controllers, NRA members, everybody. Militia groups are the exception; and they are a small exception.

MILITIA AND FREEMEN

Now let me begin by describing the groups and their leaders.

The groups have a fairly small following. Law enforcement officers who have studied the militia and freemen closely believe there are about 25-30 hard-core leaders, while about 500 people have casually attended militia meetings at one time or another.

The movement as a whole is made up of three loosely connected groups. One is the so-called "Militia of Montana," based in the northwestern town of Noxon, and led by Mr. John Trochmann and Mr. Bob Fletcher. A second is the "North American Volunteer Militia," several hundred miles to the south in Darby. And the third is

the so-called "freemen," active in large, thinly-populated Eastern Montana counties like Musselshell and Garfield.

The Militia of Montana is the largest and best known. The Darby group and the freemen are much smaller. However, the three have very evident links. The Militia of Montana newsletter, "Taking Aim," ran an article this year praising the freemen philosophy and offering to bring militia members to meet them for training. Mr. Trochmann himself showed up heavily armed in the Musselshell County seat of Roundup after two freemen leaders were arrested last March.

BELIEFS OF MILITIA AND FREEMEN LEADERS

The leaders tend to share two fundamental beliefs.

One is their fear of government. This ranges all the way from "world government" and international conspiracies to common obligations of citizenship. An example is Musselshell County Freeman leader Rodney Skurdal—now ducking a warrant for tax evasion—who offered the following "proof" of government tyranny in a document he filed at the County Courthouse last year: "A Social Security card/number, marriage licenses, drivers licenses, insurance, vehicle registration, welfare from the corporations, electrical inspections, permits to build your private home, income taxes, property taxes . . ."

The second is a deep strain of racism and anti-Semitism. Mr. Skurdal, who says marriage licenses are tyranny, also believes people who are not white are "beasts"; only whites go to heaven; and Jews are children of Satan.

The Militia of Montana is a bit more cautious. Its public literature uses anti-Semitic code words like "shadow government" and "banking elites" rather than open attacks. When challenged, Militia leaders issue unconvincing quasi-denials of the type offered by Director Bob Fletcher: "If the bulk of the banking elite are Jewish, is that anti-Semitic? The people who are doing this are the international banking elite, and if they are all Jews, so be it, but that's not the case. I don't care if they're Arabs or monkeys."

JOHN TROCHMANN AS EXAMPLE

Later today you will hear from Mr. John Trochmann, the founder of the "Militia of Montana." He is an interesting example of the movement's leadership.

Mr. Trochmann is a native of Minnesota. He moved to the small town of Noxon, Montana—population 350—in 1987. Here he can take advantage of his long association with the neo-Nazi "Aryan Nations," based about an hour's drive away in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Mr. Trochmann has denied this association. But Aryan Nations "President" Richard Butler stated in a letter on April 5th, and reaffirmed to the Missoulian, that Trochmann has visited the compound many times and helped write the group's "code of conduct."

During his first years in Noxon, Mr. Trochmann promoted the views of the Aryan Nations and the freemen. A document he filed in the Sanders County Courthouse in January 26, 1992, is an example. In it, he claims citizenship in the "Republic of the State of Montana," and uses the Dred Scott Decision to show that only "the white race" has Constitutional rights. He also explicitly repudiates the U.S.A., saying: "I am not now, nor have I ever been, a citizen of the United States, or a resident of its subordinate territories . . . I am not, nor have I ever been a member of the armed forces of the State of Montana or the United States . . . I have no Social Security account or taxpayer/employer account numbers, driver's license, or any other nexus with any City, County, State or Federal governments."

He found a more marketable agenda when he founded the "Militia of Montana" in February 1994. He no longer talks about denying his country; instead he adopts a "patriot" agenda. He plays down his racial views—although he occasionally slips, as he did a few weeks ago when a constituent heard him railing against the "Jews Media." But most of the time he claims to be an ordinary American worried about an overly powerful federal government.

Mr. Trochmann's direction of the militia, though, is just as alarming as his previous efforts. Militia mail-order catalogs are full of videos and booklets which train people to use "improvised munitions," "booby traps," "sniper training," "espionage and sabotage," and so on.

In a country as big as ours, some disturbed people in our country are sure to use it. Last November, Mr. Trochmann told a journalist that the government might be planning a large and destructive event would take place on April 19, 1995.

This was, of course, the date of the terrible Oklahoma City bombing. There may be no connection—but it is quite certain that people are reading what he puts out, many of them are disturbed, and some of them may well act on it.

THE ECONOMIC PRICE

The next question is what the "militia" movement has meant to Montana. Unfortunately, it has meant a lot.

Since the Oklahoma City bombing, Montana militia and freemen leaders have been all over the media. They have appeared on ABC, NBC, CNN, C-SPAN and CBS; in USA Today, the New York Times and the Washington Post; on Japanese TV, Australian radio, the BBC, German newspapers and probably more. They are doing a very good job of giving our quiet, beautiful state the image of a nest of violent kooks and radicals.

They hurt the Montana economy. In Ravalli County, where police and judges get regular threats from local militia leaders, the Stevensville Chamber of Commerce had to cancel its annual Balloon Festival this year. Tourism is in danger—I have already gotten letters from outsiders saying they intend to boycott Montana because of the militia presence. And economic development professionals say it is already getting harder to attract business.

THREATS TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ORDINARY CITIZENS

But the economic price is less than the price we pay in loss of our sense of public safety and security.

Since the militias formed, terrorist acts and anti-Semitic incidents have become noticeably more frequent. We have had two women's clinics bombed and burned. We have had a Jewish cemetery desecrated in Butte; an anti-Semitic daubing on a school wall in Big Timber; and a Jewish child taunted in Helena.

A constituent from Ravalli County wrote me in early April, referring to North American Volunteer Militia members; "You see Freemen with guns in the post office, grocery store and gas stations. If it gets to any one of them that a person doesn't like the "Freemen," they will call or confront a person face to face. They tell people that we are all going to "die like the Jews."

Threats against law enforcement have become routine in some areas. Garfield County Attorney Nick Murnion recalls threats the "Freemen" made against him last year: "They told me they weren't going to bother building a gallows. They were just going to let me swing from the bridge."

And Marshal Larry Rose in Darby had this experience when he pulled over a car with 1992 license plates last April 5th: "They had weapons and they were shaking them at us and yelling that they were going to kill us. We backed off a little bit and then left because we could see that it could turn into a bloodbath."

NO COMPROMISE ON RIGHTS

Now let us look at the solution to these problems. I believe it comes in three parts.

First, we must enforce the law. Paramilitary training is illegal in Montana. Tax evasion and threats against law enforcement are illegal everywhere, as far as I know. And Montana law enforcement knows very well who is violating these laws—whether it is the fellow in Darby threatening to shoot down helicopters, or the man in Musselshell with a four-year-old warrant out on him for tax evasion.

At least in Montana, we do not need new wire-tapping authority to deal with these crimes. We need not compromise our basic rights to free speech, to bear arms, to free association and to privacy in any way. We need to arrest the criminals. In some cases, they are so well-armed and so unstable that a small rural police department needs help in dealing with them. Perhaps some extra manpower, or a new squad car. But that's about it.

ADDRESS FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS

Second, we must address the concerns and frustration that lead some ordinary people—people who are not criminals or neo-Nazis—to consider joining militia groups.

When President Clinton visited Montana last week, he spoke out strongly against the militias. But he also took the time to ask one of our ranchers, Tom Breitbach, why an ordinary person might listen to the conspiracy theories offered by people like the militia and freemen leaders. Tom said it is pretty simple: "As [people] feel more pressured economically, they feel more desperate, and become willing to resort to desperate measures."

There is a lot of truth to that. Most casual militia members are not Nazis or criminals. But they are angry. Angry about slow income growth, economic pressure on working families and some of Washington's decisions on bread-and-butter issues.

I'll give you an example. Back in February, some loggers in the Flathead Valley in northwestern Montana called me up. There said that OSHA, the Occupational Safety Health Administration, had ordered them to buy steel-toed, chainsaw-resistant boots to protect their feet. They had two weeks grace, and after that it was no boots, no work.

Well, steel-toed boots may sound good in Washington. But in Montana they can make the job more dangerous, not less. On a cold day they make your feet go numb. When your feet go numb out on a steep hill, you can slip and fall. And that's no joke when you're holding a live chainsaw.

Because these loggers acted so fast, I was able to get to the Secretary of Labor and stop the regulations. But the fact is, nobody at a desk in Washington should be telling people in the Flathead what kind of shoes to wear. And to threaten someone's job over it is an outrage. You can expect people to be mad about it.

COMMUNITY MUST SPEAK OUT

And third, the community must speak out. We must set clear standards of what is right and what is wrong.

Most casual militia members are angry. They are angry about slow income growth, economic pressure on working families, and some of the federal government's decisions on bread-and-butter issues like forest management, regulation and the like. Those are legitimate complaints, and we should try to fix them.

But there is a right way and a wrong way to deal with anger. Unlike the Flathead Valley loggers, militia members choose an unacceptable way to deal with that frustration. Intimidating your neighbors and spreading hate rhetoric are not going to solve anybody's problems.

More important, to do any of that is wrong. And we should not hesitate to say that they are wrong. Hate rhetoric, anti-Semitism, and calls for violence are wrong. They have no place in our community. And as the community asserts that basic American value, the hate groups will be defeated.

I know, because I have seen it happen before.

THE BILLINGS MENORAH MOVEMENT

In November 1993, a group of "Skinheads" came to a Jewish house in Billings, and threw a bottle through the glass door. A few days later they put a brick through the window of another Jewish house, with a five-year-old boy in the room. Then they smashed the windows of Catholic High School, which had a "Happy Hanukah" sign on its marquee.

Events like these can isolate their victims. They can silence people of good will and open broader campaigns of hate and violence. But that did not happen. Instead, people all over Billings rallied with their Jewish neighbors.

As our Billings Police Chief at the time, Wayne Inman, said, "hate crimes and hate groups are a community responsibility." And the Billings community met that responsibility.

The Billings Gazette printed, as a full-page advertisement, thousands of paper menorahs. People all over town clipped them out of the paper and pasted them in their windows as a sign of solidarity. Billings held the largest Martin Luther King Day march ever in our state. And the skinheads left town. I believe the same will happen with the "militia" and "freemen" too.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, one final word. I first thought it was sad and ironic that these groups, with their anti-Semitic agenda, had emerged as we prepared to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany. But my opinion has changed.

The militia leaders get a lot of attention. But far more important are the thousands of Montanans who have stood up in this past year for the values that make America special. They may not be getting the headlines. But they are the real story.

People in law enforcement. Sheriffs and prosecutors like John Bohlman, Chuck Maxwell, Nick Murnion, George Corn and Bob Slomski. Police and judges in small mill towns, like Harry Rose, Marty Bethel and Jeff Langton. Men and women who put themselves on the line to preserve the democratic process. To maintain the rule of law. To guarantee the safety of their friends and neighbors.

Community groups. People like Ken Toole and Christine Kaufman in the Montana Human Rights Network, Cheye Ann Butler in the Northwest Montana Human Rights Alliance and Tim McWilliams in the Sanders County Coalition for Human Dignity, who are willing to stand up, tell the truth and expose these groups for what they are.

And ordinary citizens all over Montana. Parents telling their children hate is wrong. Teachers giving their time to make sure their students know the truth. People coming together to protect Larry Rose's house in Darby, pasting menorahs in their windows in Billings, writing letters to local papers and telling hate groups to stay out of town.

Mr. Chairman, as we recalled the end of the war in Europe last Memorial Day, I heard people saying the heroism of World War II is gone. But I guarantee you, it is here today—if we take the time to look.

Thank you. I ask unanimous consent that following my testimony in the Record, the Committee include the following supporting documents:

A report by the Montana Human Rights Network entitled "A Season of Discontent: Militias, Constitutionlists and the Far Right in Montana."

Written essay by Noxon Town Historian Mona Vanek, detailing Trochmann activities before formation of the "Militia of Montana."

Two documents filed by John Trochmann at Sanders County Courthouse on January 26, 1992, and witnessed by Randy Trochmann and Michael Richter, entitled "Declaration of John Ernest Trochmann" and "Affidavit of Facts Opposing Venue."

A press release from Aryan Nations detailing contacts with Mr. John Trochmann.

Two pages from the "Militia of Montana Catalog" offering for sale training manuals on "improvised munitions Handbook," "Sniper Training and Employment," "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques," "Guerrilla Warfare and Special Forces Ops," etc.

Excerpts from a "brief" filed in October 1994, by Musselshell County Freeman leader Rodney Skurdal, published in the Helena Independent Record on April 2nd, 1995.

An article endorsing "freeman" philosophy published in the Militia of Montana newsletter "Taking Aim" in January 1995.

A SEASON OF DISCONTENT—MILITIAS, CONSTITUTIONALISTS, AND THE FAR RIGHT IN MONTANA

INTRODUCTION

The Montana Human Rights Network is a private non-profit organization dedicated to countering the efforts of the Far Right in Montana. As a part of that effort, the Network monitors the Far Right and exposes the activities of these groups.

The Network uses a number of resources to conduct its monitoring work. National and regional groups dedicated to monitoring the Far Right provide us with information; concerned individuals call us about activities in their communities; and newspapers and other public documents also provide information. In addition, the Network collects the literature, audio tapes and videos tapes which are distributed by Far Right groups.

Throughout early 1994 there was a marked increase in Far Right organizing efforts in Montana. There have been gatherings of militia groups, tax protesters, Constitutionalists, and people concerned about second amendment rights. On the surface, these groups may appear fairly benign and unrelated, but not far below the surface it is apparent that there is cause for concern. The extent to which these groups are linked through their leaders, materials, and philosophy is clear, as is their connection to more radical, racist groups.

Meetings around the state have focused on two broad topics. The first topic is government abuse, specifically in the areas of law enforcement and taxation. The Far Right has used the stand offs between law enforcement agencies and the Branch Dividians in Waco, Texas and white supremacist, Randy Weaver, in the Idaho panhandle as organizing tools. Distorted accounts of both these events, wrought with conspiracy theories, are being widely circulated in Montana and across the country. In the area of taxation, various tax protesters challenge the constitutionality of the federal income tax and cling to their "right" not to pay it.

The second focal point of these meetings is the Brady Bill and a perceived challenge to Second Amendment rights including the right to bear arms and have citizen's militias. The common theme discussed is a deep-seated distrust of our public institutions and government. Leaders of these groups try to evoke a feeling that the citizenry is somehow being victimized by some vaguely defined conspirators in the government.

During the months of January, February and March, the lines of demarcation between the organizers of these meetings began to blur. By April it became apparent that connections existed between the individuals organizing these meetings and the literature being distributed at the meetings.

This report discusses those connections and reviews the range of Far Right groups and individuals active in Montana during the first five months of 1994.

BACKGROUND

The Far Right is a collection of organizations and individuals that is very difficult to characterize. Although they are commonly placed at the same end of the political spectrum, their views are not the same.

Some of the themes that characterize the Far Right are discernable by a review of the positions taken and the literature distributed by Far Right groups. Aryan Nation literature, for example, clearly identifies the Aryan Nation as a Far Right, racist organization, that exists well outside the mainstream.

Racist groups represent the political margins. They embody the most extreme manifestation of anger, frustration and fear. However, those same emotions are feeding a host of more mainstream political efforts to "take back America."

The rise of the Religious Right, the success of the Ross Perot organizing effort, the popularity of Rob Natelson and his anti-government rhetoric all find their strength in the same undercurrent of anger and fear. These more mainstream right-wing groups are a legitimate, accepted part of the political fabric of Montana. However, they rely on anger at public institutions and fear that Americans are on the brink of losing some vaguely defined vision of what our lives should be.

There is currently a marked increase in extremist activities in Montana. Montanans need to recognize that the glue holding these groups together, and enabling them to grow, is a negative attitude about our social institutions.

Several terms used in this report need definition to ensure an understanding of the kinds of groups being discussed and the philosophies they hold.

Christian Identity—A racist theology which holds that white Northern Europeans are God's chosen people, Jewish people are descendent of Satan, and people of color are non-human or "mud people." Christian Identity is a recurrent theme in a number of racist organizations including various Ku Klux Klan groups, the Aryan Nation, and even some skinhead organizations.

Constitutionalists—Groups that view the constitution as a static document which has been misapplied and misinterpreted by the current judicial system. Often these groups also believe that the original constitution applies only to white Christian men and that people of other races have different citizenship rights.

Racist Right—Organizations which believe there are inherent biological differences between groups of people based on their race, ethnicity or religious beliefs and assign a value to groups based on these differences. Racist groups in Montana believe that people who are white, and of Northern European descent, are superior to other groups.

Religious Right—Organizations such as Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition which are part of an ultra-conservative political movement that claims to represent the "Christian" perspective. Their ultimate goal is to create a theocratic government. These organizations are intensely homophobic but do not generally espouse an overtly racist or anti-semitic philosophy.

Tax Protesters—People who believe that our current tax structure is inherently illegal. Specifically, these groups tend to focus on federal taxation issues and the income tax. There is heavy cross representation between tax protesters and Constitutionalists.

County Movement—Groups and individuals who believe that county government is the ultimate authority within the boundaries of that county.

Second Amendment Groups—Groups which have formed in response to legislation which they believe infringes upon rights granted under the Second Amendment. Specifically, these groups have focused on the Brady Bill and recent legislation banning certain assault weapons.

Defining Extremism and the Far Right in Montana

What defines the Far Right? The answer is not derived through a formula. It is not that simple. How individuals and groups view democratic processes and how they participate in those processes are key factors. Although numerous groups fall into the broad range of extremist organizations on the right, these groups are often quite different in the positions they hold and the issue areas in which they work. A careful study, however, reveals recurrent themes within Far Right extremist groups.

Far Right extremist groups:

1. Seek to limit or proscribe the rights of specific groups to participate in society.

White supremacy is a clear example of this theme, but there are certainly others which are more subtle. When Religious Right activist Bob Simonds says that the

only people qualified to sit on school boards are "Bible-believing Christians," the message is that non-Christians are not qualified to serve in these offices.

2. Seek to separate groups along racial, ethnic or religious lines and assign relative values to different groups.

The white supremacist movement is pathological in its fixation on race and ethnicity, and, again, this is an example which most people understand immediately. But there are numerous other manifestations. Pat Buchanan's comments at the 1992 National Christian Coalition Convention reflected the same theme when he said, "Our culture is superior to other cultures because our culture is Christian . . ."

3. Seek to impose their values on the public at the expense of basic freedoms.

To some degree anyone who is active in the political process seeks to impose his or her positions on public institutions. However, groups on the Far Right seek to do this in an expansive manner, and generally, in a manner that attacks basic freedoms. The white supremacist movement's vision of America is a racially pure white state. Pat Robertson's vision of America is a Christian theocratic state. Both visions are a radical departure from the vision most people have of America—a vision of a nation which values equality, independent of the individual's citizen's race or religion.

4. Believe their way is the absolute and only truth.

Far Right groups tend to assert that truth is absolute, knowable, and that they alone know the truth. For example, Christian Identity, a racist theology which states that Jews are descendants of Satan, underlies much of the white supremacist movement. Constitutionalists see the original constitution as a static document which was divinely inspired, and reject many of the amendments for several reasons. The Religious Right sees the Bible (as they interpret it) as the absolute truth and allows for no deviation or questioning of the principles they believe the Bible sets forth.

5. Promote conspiracies.

Conspiracy theories espoused by the Far Right abound. All serve the same purpose—to isolate people and to discount factual information which does not comport with the conspirator's world view. A conspiracy theory allows it believers to deny any fact which challenges their position, usually by claiming that the fact is part of the conspiracy. For example, information which comes from a major news outlet is immediately suspect because the media is dominated by . . . (fill in the blank). Any report from the government or university system is obviously unreliable because the government is filled with . . . (again, fill in the blank). People become isolated because they take all of their information from very limited sources, which, in time, further compounds their isolation.

6. Have disdain for and abuse democratic processes.

Many of these groups reject the democratic processes we all depend on in our society. Ironically, they often use the very processes that they reject to legitimize their beliefs.

This is most clear in the activity of Constitutionalists and their use of the court system. These groups openly state that they do not believe the court system has jurisdiction over them, yet they file document after document in the courts and with local governments. This is costly to the local tax payer and time consuming for government employees. The Constitutionalists participate in these processes for many reasons, but the one thing they do not expect is that the legal system will deliver to them the rights they think they are entitled to.

Another example is the "stealth candidate." Activists in the Religious Right encourage people to run for office while concealing their public policy goals. This is in direct conflict with the very basics of representative government. Citizens in a democracy cannot vote for an individual to represent them when they do not even know what the candidate believes.

7. Seek to silence opposition.

White supremacist groups have a long tradition of using fear and violence to intimidate those who oppose their beliefs. The Religious Right in Montana has routinely sought avenues to silence its opponents rather than debate the issues. When the Network announced its 1993 human rights conference, the Christian Coalition of Montana attempted to pressure the College of Great Falls to not allow the conference to occur on its campus. Additionally, they orchestrated a call-in campaign to get US West to withdraw its funding of the conference. Neither effort was successful.

Building Bridges

Sorting through the variety of groups and individuals who are active in Far Right organizations is becoming increasingly difficult. Leaders on the Far Right have be-

come adept at building bridges to other movements and capitalizing on concerns shared by other, less extreme, individuals in society by using "bridge issues" as organizing tools.

The Network has been watching this trend with increasing concern over the last two years. It came as little surprise to the Network to find Ku Klux Klan activists in Billings had formed a chapter of the Young Republicans on the Eastern Montana College Campus. Nor was it a surprise to find a self-proclaimed "white separatist" helping organize in northwestern Montana for Rob Natelson's Montanans for Better Government. These incidents, along with many others, represent a tactical shift occurring with the Far Right—an effort by extremist groups to build bridges to more mainstream organizations and campaigns. It is a tactical shift all Montanans should be aware of and concerned about.

Examples of the bridge issues which Far Right extremists use to reach a more mainstream audience are taxes, abortion, homosexuality, school prayer, anti-environmentalism and gun control. All of these issues are controversial, and individuals on either side tend to feel very strongly about the positions they hold.

No one should look at an individual who holds a certain position on these issues and assume the individual is a Far Right extremist. On the contrary, the divergence of opinion and debate on these issues are critical to democratic processes in our society. But the fact remains that many individuals with extremist views and tactics are using these issues to identify and recruit new supporters to their causes.

THE FRINGE DWELLERS AND THE LINKAGES BETWEEN THEM

While all of the fringe groups described below may believe in different principles and tactics, the links between them are clear.

The most extreme elements in the Far Right are using more benign groups to recruit and radicalize a growing number of individuals. It is one thing when an individual joins a Klan group with a full understanding of the Klan's beliefs. That is clearly a right we all have and a right which is critical to our free society. It is another matter when an individual unwittingly joins a group he believes it can help him with tax problems or help save his farm, or because he is concerned about gun control, only to be "brought along" into increasingly extreme and radicalized philosophies which are destructive to the individual and society.

The following discussion describes the activities of Far Right groups and traces the linkages between them.

MILITIA MOVEMENT

Organizers have been forming militias in Montana since February 1994. The general argument of militia organizers is that the government is out of control and an armed citizenry is needed to keep the government in check. Militia promoters have generally pointed to the passage of the Brady Bill and the restrictions on assault weapons as the first step in a much larger conspiracy to wrest control of America. They attribute the conspiracy to a host of shadowy organizations, though they are generally unclear about the ultimate goal of these "conspirators."

It is important to understand that the militia movement in Montana focuses on the government as an enemy and depends on unsubstantiated conspiracy theories. Militias do not seek to supplement the national guard by serving as a home guard to be called upon in times of emergency, as some have claimed. Materials being marketed through militia meetings indicate that the militias are forming to protect the citizens from the government.

The militia movement is not a recent phenomenon, nor is it limited to Montana. During his 1992 presidential bid, Populist Party candidate Bo Gritz actively encouraged his supporters to form militias and praised the organized militia movement in Idaho. Since his failed presidential bid, Gritz has been conducting "S.P.I.K.E." (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) trainings which are often termed "survivalist" but have also been characterized as paramilitary and have included weapons trainings. Gritz has advertised these by stating, "Both street confrontation and deliberate shooting will be taught along with instinctive 'Quick Kill' skills. All guns and ammo will be furnished." (Center for Action, September 1993, p. 4)

The strength of the current militia movement in Montana is troubling. Militia meetings have been held in numerous communities and have consistently drawn substantial numbers. The Network staff are aware of the following meetings.

Place and date:	No. of participants
Hamilton, 2-15-94	250
Kalispell, 2-24-94	250-300

	<i>No. of participants</i>
Eureka, 2-25-94	200+
Kalispell, 3-10-94	800
Sanders County, 3-24-94	70
Big Timber, 4-1-94	300+
Billings, 4-2/3-94	150
Kalispell, 4-7-94	150
Troy, 4-20-94	100-150
Eureka, 5-6-94	25-30
Great Falls, 5-11-94	200

There appears to be a trend emerging. After being exposed to the more extreme positions of the organizers, the number of people who come to a second or third meeting tends to drop off. In Troy, the local paper reported that people started drifting away during the meeting, and by the end as many as half had already left.

The Network has received numerous calls from people who discovered militia materials in other communities. It is clear that militia materials are being distributed through existing networks of like-minded individuals around the state.

The appendices included to this report contain examples of the literature being distributed as a part of the militia movement. This literature represents the most maintain material produced by the militia movement. If one purchases the materials which are for sale, one sees a far more radical and paranoid picture.

For example, one of the video tapes for sale in the Militia of Montana catalog details foreign troop operations in the U.S. It goes on to say that the U.S. government is currently paying and training the Crips and the Bloods, two notorious youth gangs, to act as a domestic police force and to assist the government in confiscating fire arms. Other materials for sale are filled with similar outrageous claims.

Militia links to other groups

Several militia organizers have made conscious efforts to distance themselves from elements in the racist right. There were considerable efforts to manage this issue at several militia meetings. For example, audience members at a meeting in Hamilton said they should issue a statement opposing white supremacist ideas. However, the key organizer's linkages to the racist right are very clear.

The Militia of Montana (MOM) is the most well organized group promoting formation of local militias. MOM literature has been present at many of the organizing meetings in Montana.

The primary organizers of MOM are John, David and Randy Trochmann. They have been active in the Far Right and Racist movements for years. The Trochmanns have had a long-standing relationship with the Aryan Nation Church in Hayden Lake. John Trochmann was one of the featured speakers at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990.

John Trochmann was also the co-chair for United Citizens for Justice (UCJ), a support group for white supremacist Randy Weaver. UCJ was formed in September of 1992 during the standoff between Weaver and law enforcement authorities in the Idaho panhandle. Its primary focus was the alleged misconduct of law enforcement, but the leadership in UCJ was clearly involved in the racist right. One of the mailing lists being used to promote militia material by MOM came from UCJ.

John Trochmann spoke at militia meetings in Troy, Big Timber, Thompson Falls, Great Falls and Bozeman. John's brother, David Trochmann, attended meetings distributing MOM literature. David was featured promoting his Constitutionalist ideas in a Spokane television news series about racist organizations in Montana.

The Trochmanns have held Bible studies with Larry McCurry of Thompson Falls, Chris Temple of Polson and other long-time Christian Identity followers. McCurry has ties with leaders of a variety of factions of the racist movement, including the Aryan Nations, national Christian Identity minister Pete Peters, and Thom Robb, the Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (the same Klan group which has been active in Billings).

Chris Temple was active in the leadership of UCJ along with the Trochmanns. Temple was a former organizer for the Bo Gritz campaign in Montana and worked with the Populist Party in New York. Gritz and the Populist Party both have well-documented ties to the racist movement. Temple is also a writer for a national Christian identity publication called Jubilee based in Midpines, CA.

MOM materials have surfaced in other areas of the state. Several of the videos they promote are also being circulated among Constitutionlists and tax protesters in central Montana who are convening their own courts, arresting deputies, and threatening to hang the sheriff. Further, tax protester Red Beckman and MOM organizer John Trochmann have appeared together at meetings.

Bo Gritz's connections to the racist right are clearly documented by numerous national organizations which monitor the hate movement. In 1988, Gritz was the vice-presidential running mate with former Klan leader, David Duke, for a short period of time. Additionally, during the Randy Weaver standoff in the Idaho panhandle in August/September of 1992, Gritz told the Seattle Post Intelligencer that he is a "white separatist," though he has since denied holding that view. Currently, Gritz is establishing "Christian Covenant Communities" in Idaho with Jack McLamb. McLamb focusses on recruiting law enforcement officers to the Constitutionalist cause.

Another connection between Gritz, UCJ and militias is Eva Lamb. Lamb, a Gritz organizer and Far Right activist from Hayden Lake, began organizing militias in Idaho. A panelist at a February 1993 UCJ meeting, Lamb said that she began organizing the Idaho militia in May of 1992. Lamb stated that the militia would be in place in case of another Randy Weaver type of situation.

Nationally there are other Far Right activists calling for the organization of militias. Mark Koernke, a Constitutionalist from Michigan who claims to have worked in a variety of intelligence positions for the U.S. government, calls for the formation of militias in a video called "America in Peril." This is the first listing in the materials available a MOM catalog.

Another tape for sale in the MOM catalog features Jack McLamb, who also calls for the formation of militias. McLamb is an ex-policeman from Arizona who is in partnership with Bo Gritz in his "Christian Covenant Communities" scheme mentioned earlier. McLamb is also active in Montana. He was one of the speakers at tax protester Red Beckman's "No More Wacos" meeting in Billings in January.

Another offering from the MOM catalog is a tape called "Who Controls the Children". This tape is commonly used by Religious Right groups to oppose school reform efforts. The tape was shown at several community meetings in Helena by a group called the Helena Parents Commission during the spring of 1994. It has also been shown in recent months in the Columbia Falls area.

Despite these ties, militia organizers want to portray themselves as mainstream Montanans with legitimate concerns about public policy. It is a portrayal that rings hollow when one considers they are advocating the formation of a domestic army to fight the government. Unfortunately, these groups are funding far too many sympathetic ears. They are using concerns about gun control and frustration with government to reach people. These individuals are then brought into this movement, convert them to more and more radical ideology and, ultimately, to direct action.

CONSTITUTIONALISTS

The followers of this ideology are known by many names including Constitutionalists, Christian Patriots, Super Patriots and others. Although there are differences in beliefs, the basic tenets remain the same. Adherents of this movement believe that the original, or "organic," Constitution is a divinely inspired document. They believe the original constitution with the first ten amendments, along with common law, is the only valid law of the land.

Many Constitutionlists believe in differing citizenship status which follow racial lines. So called "organic citizens" are white, Christian men who receive their right from the God through the Preamble and first 10 amendments of the constitution. All other men are "Fourteenth Amendment Citizens" who derive their rights from the 14th amendment or the Equal Protection clause. These rights, they say, are extended by men and therefore may be revoked by men. (See Appendix)

Various Constitutionalist groups have been active in Montana for years. However, there has been an increase in their activities, particularly in central Montana, in the last three years. During the last six months, groups and individuals in this movement have stepped up their activities, particularly in the Jordan, Lewistown, and Roundup areas. They are also active in Ravalli County.

Much of the activity of Constitutionlists focuses on the court system and local governments. These groups and individuals file voluminous documents with local clerks and recorders intended to sever their ties to the US government. Based on their interpretation of the constitution, they believe that the government has no jurisdiction over them.

Activists in the Constitutionalist movement have also filed liens against government officials with whom they disagree. These liens have no legal basis but have been filed against public officials all over Montana. While the liens are fairly simple to remove, the effect of being targeted in this manner is quite disconcerting for local officials.

Federal law prohibits harassing government officials who are trying to carry out their duties. Currently, a number of Constitutionalists are under indictment for violation of this federal statute. There is no similar state statute at this time.

Another recent development in the Constitutionalist movement is the convening of their own "courts." In central Montana, one of these courts has handed down an "arrest warrant" for local law enforcement officials. Constitutionalists have "arrested" a deputy in central Montana, though they stopped short of actually taking him into custody. In western Montana, a judge was served an arrest warrant and is currently "free on his own recognizance."

Constitutionalists commonly refuse to register their vehicles or get drivers licenses. Often they refuse to use a Social Security number and will send lengthy proclamations to the Social Security Administration to close their accounts. All of this is part of the process of severing their ties to the federal government. Constitutionalists also place legal advertisements in local papers severing their ties to the government and proclaiming the citizenship status.

As one might imagine, much of their behavior brings Constitutionalists into confrontation with law enforcement. When that confrontation occurs, the potential for violence is real. In June of 1992, Gordon Sellner, a Constitutionalist in the Swan Valley, was stopped for questioning in an investigation being conducted by a local deputy sheriff. Sellner left his vehicle and ran into forest. The deputy pursued and Sellner shot him in the chest. Luckily, the deputy had on a bullet-proof vest and was not seriously injured.

Constitutionalist links to other groups

While Sellner remained in hiding, racist right activists became involved in an intercessionary role. Christian Identity adherent Chris Temple and former lawman turned anti-government activist Jack McLamb met with Sellner and urged him to surrender. Sellner said that he could not surrender because it would go against everything that he believes in. While still in hiding, Sellner wrote, "The color of freedom is red, the price of freedom is blood. It has always been so."

As previously noted, Chris Temple was active in the leadership of UCJ along with the Trochmanns, was a former organizer for the Bo Gritz campaign in Montana, and is a writer for Jubilee, a national Christian Identity magazine.

Constitutionalists are clearly involved in the militia movement. As mentioned before, the MOM catalog features a video of Jack McLamb, who is in partnership with Bo Gritz, and was one of the speakers at tax protester Red Beckman's "No More Wacos" meeting in Billings in January. McLamb publishes a newsletter called *Aid & Abet* direct at law enforcement officers in an effort to convince them of the validity of the Constitutionalist message. Constitutionalist Mark Koernke from Michigan, calls for the formation of militias in a video commonly promoted by MOM.

TAX PROTESTERS

Tax protesters believe that our current tax structure is inherently illegal. On that basis, they often refuse to pay their income tax.

The premier organizer of the tax protest movement in Montana is Red Beckman. Beckman has been active in Montana for a long time. He ran unsuccessfully for governor as a Democrat in 1980, 1988, and 1992. He has promoted conspiracy theories, tax protest ideology, and Constitutionalist ideology around the nation for years.

Beckman lost his property in a tax dispute that began in 1974. With Beckman owing almost \$30,000, the Internal Revenue Service sold the land in 1979 for back taxes. Still, Beckman has been living on the property. The current owners are now seeking Beckman's eviction because they wish to develop the property. Beckman is fighting the eviction, threatening an armed standoff with law enforcement.

In January, Beckman held a meeting in Billings called "No More Wacos" to rally support for his tax protest stance. Following that meeting, Beckman began to appear at meetings around the state. The Network is aware of Beckman being involved in or presenting at the following meetings:

Place and date:	No. of participants
Hamilton, 2-15-94	250
Great Falls, 3-23-94	100-150
Big Timber, 4-1-94	300
Billings, 4-2/3-94	150
Great Falls, 5-11-94	200

Tax Protester links to other groups

John McGlothlen, a militia organizer in Kalispell, also had his home seized by the IRS due to unpaid taxes. McGlothlen, who has not paid taxes since 1977, states that the tax is not legal using many of the same arguments used by Beckman.

Beckman's "No More Wacos" meeting featured national leaders in the racist right and the Constitutionalist movement. Former Populist Party presidential candidate Bo Gritz was in attendance as well as racist Christian Identity minister Pete Peters from La Port, Colorado. Also present were Jay Brand, a Constitutionalist from Lewistown; John Abarr, a Billings Ku Klux Klan organizer; Roger Roots, a Billings man the media has linked to Abarr; and Rudy Stanko, the former *heir apparent* to the racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Christian group, the Church of the Creator. (The Human Rights Network published a detailed report on this meeting.)

During the ensuing meetings, Beckman has discussed his interpretation of the Constitution, tax policy, the evils of government, and a host of conspiracy theories. He also regularly advocates the militia movement, and in fact billed his meetings in Big Timber and Billings as "Militia of Montana" (MOM) meetings.

Beckman's meetings also provided an opportunity for gathering signatures and promotion of other, more mainstream, conservative causes. For example, information from United We Stand America has been distributed and CI 66 petitions have been available for meeting participants to sign.

Most recently, Beckman spoke in Great Falls with John Trochmann. The meeting was reported to be a call to arms asking local residents to help fight the "multi-trillion-dollar, private corporation called the federal government." The 200 people in attendance were asked to join a secretive network that used military code names.

Red Beckman is openly anti-Semitic. In his 1984 book, "The Church Deceived," Beckman wrote that the Holocaust was God's judgment on the "Anti-Christ Church."

THE COUNTY MOVEMENT

The county movement is comprised of groups and individuals who believe that county government is the ultimate authority within the boundaries of that county.

County movement links to other groups

The county movement is active in Montana and appears to influence a variety of groups. It is apparent in the Constitutionalist movement, the Wise Use movement, as well as in Christian Identity and other racist movements.

The Wise Use groups (anti-environmental organizations funded by resource extraction industries) are attracted to the county movement because they see it as a way to open public lands to resource development. They do this by urging counties to adopt land-use plans which proscribe certain uses for public land. They argue that the county land-use plan governs the use of federal and state lands within the borders of the county.

Karen Budd of the National Federal Lands Conference, a Wise Use Group, spoke at a meeting in July of 1993 in Jordan. Red Beckman also spoke at the meeting. Budd has also been advising citizens of Ravalli County in their efforts to introduce a land-use plan modeled after other plans supported by Wise Use groups in the West. Interestingly, both Ravalli and Garfield counties have had a high number of Far Right activists in the past year linked with the Constitutionalist and/or tax protest movement.

A number of Constitutionlists and white supremacist groups are also attracted to the county movement, though for a different reason. *Posse comitatus*, Latin for the "power of the county," is a legal doctrine which advances the idea that the county is the ultimate legal authority within its geographic borders. Drawing from that doctrine, Henry Beach and William Potter Gale formed the "Posse Comitatus," a Christian Identity hate group. Members of the Posse Comitatus distrust government, believing it is controlled by "enemies" who cannot be trusted to preserve the law of the land or the purity of the white race.

At a May 11, 1994 meeting in Great Falls, tax protester Red Beckman appeared to support the themes of the county movement. He stated that it is each county's sheriff, not the federal agents, who have local law enforcement jurisdiction.

A number of county sheriffs in Montana have encountered the followers of the county movement. One was threatened with hanging while another was praised as an example of a "good" sheriff in a national Christian Identity newspaper, the *Jubilee*.

SECOND AMENDMENT GROUPS

New groups concerned about gun control are springing up in many Montana communities. These groups actively oppose the "Brady Bill" and support second amendment rights. These groups are of concern because they promote many of the same ideas and distribute much of the same literature as the Militia of Montana.

In Missoula, "Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment," led by Gary Marbut, has met at least twice. Marbut declared that the group is not white supremacist and not a militia group but is strictly concerned with the second amendment. However, the group promoted the same video tapes as militia groups, and persons attending the meeting said it seemed clear that they were in touch with Constitutionalist and militia groups.

In Helena, a group called the "Sons of Liberty" recently formed. At their first meeting members showed a video called "Waco, the Lie Continues," which is also being promoted by the Militia of Montana. The 140 people at the meeting were told that it was strictly an informational meeting, although the opening prayer asked God to lead the group to do whatever is needed to protect the "Republic," a theme common to the Constitutionalist movement.

Second Amendment links to other groups

Gary Marbut leads The Montana Shooting Sports Association (MSSA), which is organizing in opposition to the Brady Bill. MSSA has received press coverage for its recent "Ax Max" campaign, an effort to recall Senator Max Baucus.

In 1992, Marbut and the Shooting Sports Association distributed a survey to congressional candidates Pat Williams and Ron Marlenee. One of the survey questions asked if the candidate favored or opposed the view that the sheriff is the highest power in the county and that at times the sheriff may be called upon to protect the people of the county from state or federal officials. This reflects the view of the county movement and the racist group, Posse Comitatus.

Literature from the Montana Shooting Sports Association was distributed at Red Beckman's Hamilton meeting.

The video shown at the Sons of Liberty meeting in Helena was about the Branch Dividian incident in Waco. However, the literature available was almost solely about gun control, as was the discussion following the video. Much of the literature available at the meeting has been distributed at militia meetings as well. Additionally, the video shown is available from MOM. Another example of linkages is a piece written by Bernadine Smith about the second amendment, which was distributed at both the Sons of Liberty meeting and several militia meetings. Examples of the literature are included in the appendix.

The first meeting of the Sons of Liberty was led by the principal of Mount Helena Christian Academy, Bud Dziekonski. Mount Helena Christian Academy is the school associated with Rev. Doug Kelly's Mount Helena Community Church. Kelly is the recent past president of the Christian Coalition of Montana. Dziekonski also claimed that he produced the Sons of Liberty literature and asked people who are interested in joining the Sons of Liberty to write to him at an East Helena post office box.

WHITE SUPREMACISTS

White supremacists have been active in Montana for a long time, with increased activity since the mid 1980s. These groups generally focus on race issues and promote the idea that America should be an all white nation. White supremacist groups also have a long tradition of violent behavior and, for that reason, have a tremendous ability to intimidate their targets.

There is an active core of white supremacists in Northwestern Montana, particularly in Sanders County. In the past, activists in this area have been loosely associated with the Aryan Nation Church of Jesus Christ Christian based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Last summer four of the leaders of the Aryan Nation moved into the Noxon area and established the Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana.

Other white supremacist groups have also been active during the last five years in western Montana. The White Aryan Resistance has distributed literature in the Troy and Libby areas. Church of the Creator has several "reverends" in the area; their organization has distributed literature throughout the state; and their activists have picketed a human rights meeting in Missoula.

For the last year and a half, the Ku Klux Klan and a local "skinhead" group have distributed literature in Billings. Coincidentally, Billings has been the focus of a campaign of hate crimes directed at the Jewish, Indian, gay and lesbian communities. A former Church of the Creator activist currently lives in the Billings area.

Individuals active in the organized hate movement have appeared in almost every sizable city in Montana. Their connections to the militia, Constitutionalist, and tax protest movements have already been noted in previous sections.

CONCLUSION

The Network has several concerns about the recent increase in the activities of the groups mentioned in this report.

1. There is a very real danger of violent confrontation with law enforcement. The philosophy espoused by many of these groups is one which tells people that society is out to get them; that the system has been taken over; and that there is no way people can get justice through the processes currently in place. These groups urge people to take immediate action and arm themselves. History has demonstrated that individuals who subscribe to this ideology are capable of acting in a violent manner.

2. The cost to local government created by the activities of a number of these groups is significant. Some of these groups, particularly the Constitutionlists, file numerous documents with local governments and local courts. The volume of these documents and the costs of processing them can be staggering. The activities of these groups in the courts are also costly to communities. When lawsuits are filed against the county attorney, he or she cannot represent the county, and another attorney must be retained. The suit often will also name the local judge, meaning that another judge must be brought in, thus escalating the costs significantly. Ironically, the individuals filing these actions with the court, the clerk and recorder, and others are often the same individuals who refuse to pay the taxes which support these functions of government.

3. Democratic processes are being stifled. Anyone who has been to a public meeting where members of these groups are present can attest to the vehemence of those in attendance. Their anger often intimidates others from participating in public forums. Numerous public officials have been at the receiving end of their vehemence—an uncomfortable if not intimidating position. Unfortunately, many of these groups advocates direct, violent action. The community at large is aware of that and, as a result, people who may disagree are fearful of speaking in opposition to the ideas these groups promote. There have been recent reports of individuals wearing side arms in public meetings.

Their tactics of intimidation have far-reaching consequences and serious implications in a free society. In northwestern Montana, local human rights groups are encountering problems finding meeting places. This is not because people disagree with the human rights position, but because they are fearful that a violence may occur.

4. The political center is shifting. Because these groups are so vocal and so extreme, they garner a large degree of media attention as well as they should. However, because of resource constraints, often that coverage is not very detailed. Leaders in these groups are aware of that and almost always present their most benign faces to the media in an effort to garner public support.

The militia debate provides an example. In Montana, apparently mainstream people are arguing that formation of a domestic army to fight the government is an appropriate response to passage of federal legislation regarding gun control.

5. Far Right extremists will be attracted to the state. The March/April 1994 issue of the Jubilee glorified recent events in Montana. The refusal to two county sheriffs to enforce the Brady Bill received front page coverage with the headline "Sheriffs' [sic] Snub Feds." Another story reported on the Montana's militia movement. MOM is reported to be both the national and international leader in the movement due to the literature it has developed and its great success organizing in Montana.

The fact that Montana is being promoted as a haven for Far Right extremists is cause for grave concern. This would further promote the white supremacist idea of the "Territorial Imperative," which calls for the migration of white supremacists to the Pacific Northwest. The development of the Militia of Montana, under the leadership of known white supremacists, will only work to continue the migration of individuals with extremist beliefs to Montana.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Human Rights Network Recommends the following courses of action in response to the growth of Far Right groups in Montana.

Legislative action

1. Protect local government officials. Montana needs legislation that makes it a criminal offence to harass a local government official who is carrying out the duties

of his or her job. Such a statute exists at the federal level and has been used effectively to address some of the activity of these groups.

Judicial action

1. Sanction abuse of the courts. Judges must balance access to the courts and abuse of process. Most judges are rightfully hesitant to limit an individual's ability to pursue justice through the courts. However, many of the Far Rights' activities in the judicial arena clearly abuse the process. The individuals should be required to pay the costs and, if necessary, future access on civil matters should be controlled.

Local government action

1. Adopt local ordinances for public facilities. As stated earlier, some individuals involved in the Far Right movement have begun to attend governmental meetings wearing sidearms. There is no reason to be armed at these meetings and the presence of arms is intimidating to government officials and individuals attending the meetings. Passing local ordinances that prohibit the possession of firearms in public meetings will allow for a more open exchange at public meetings. The ordinance should carry an exception for hunter safety classes.

2. Protect public processes. Local government officials must create an environment where citizens can participate in public processes without fear. Local government meetings are a favorite target of some of Far Right groups. Too often the length, vehemence, and content of the presentations from these groups has the effect of stifling the comments of others. Local government officials must view themselves as protectors of the process and establish rules of conduct which are strictly enforced during public meetings.

Law enforcement action

1. Use consistent treatment. Far Right groups like to portray themselves as victims of law enforcement abuse. The reverse is often the case. For a number of reasons, including the potential for violence, law enforcement officers often tolerate the legal transgressions of members of these groups. These individuals should be treated no differently from anyone else in the community who commits similar offenses.

2. Use existing statutes for prosecution. Montana has a statute that prohibits paramilitary training in the state. There are also restrictions against bringing armed persons into the state and criminal syndicalism. It is important for law enforcement to be aware of these laws and to enforce them as necessary. These statutes are included in the appendix.

Community action

1. Support public institutions. Public officials who deal with Far Right individuals need support from community members. Communities cannot expect the local judiciary, law enforcement, and county commission to act in a vacuum. Community members should be vocal in their support for local officials who face the extremist activities of Far Right organizations.

2. Speak out. Community members who are opposed to the ideas espoused by Far Right groups must be vocal. Failing to respond to the rhetoric of these organizations allows them to define the issues and dominate the discussion. Forums which are commonly used by Far Right groups and ignored by their opponents include talk radio and letters to the editor. These arenas often set the tone of public debate on issues of the day. It is difficult for public officials to take strong action if they perceive they have no support in the community. Community members should use these forums to demonstrate that support.

Media response

1. Achieve balance. Far Right groups have opposition in a host of places. When reporting on the activities of these groups, it is important to seek out the views of those who may disagree with and/or be concerned about what is going on.

2. Develop critical analysis. Given restricted resources, this is a difficult task, but it remains a very important one. The interconnections within these groups is newsworthy and tells a bigger story than an examination of the individual components.

3. Make informed editorial comments. Too often the activities of these Far Right groups are dismissed as "silliness." In some ways that is an accurate portrayal. But to the law enforcement official who faces armed Constitutionalists, to the county commissioner who must manage a heated meeting, or to the Jewish family whose home has been vandalized, these groups are serious business. Editorial comment should recognize that perspective.

MONA VANEK,
Noxon, MT, May 24, 1995.

TO THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON TERRORISM: Only days after the federal building was bombed in Oklahoma City reporters from around the world arrived in Noxon, Montana to interview John Trochman and those involved with his anti-government movement. Such a strong element of fear now controls this valley that many people are fearful of affirming publicly that they believe the elective process rather than violence is the way to change government. And fear, caused by Trochmans militancy, causes all new residents to be looked upon with suspicion that they might be aligned with, or share, this militant theology/ideology. Senior citizens, having survived the home front terrors of World War II, question why the government isn't outlawing seditious talk and para-military activities. Since the bombing in Oklahoma, the Trochmans business of selling hate and destroy the government videos, and booklets, has grown. Daily postage expenses from their business is reported to be \$1,200-\$1,600.

For Five years I square danced with John Trochman, the man who claims to be co-founder of the Militia of Montana. I'd like you to understand some telling things about him. I first encountered him in 1985. He and his brother, Dave, were speakers at a gathering of taxpayers who were concerned over their property tax increases. Trochmans were relative newcomers to Noxon, as were most of the small crowd who attended. I was an "old-timer", known as the historian. The first of my three Noxon history books, *Behind These Mountains*, would roll off the presses in a couple of months. That night, similar to a town hall meeting, we gathered in an old building at the base of Government Mountain, in Sanders County, northwestern Montana. Trochmans were preaching defiance of the law.

"Refuse to pay the property taxes," they told the crowd. "Those government people taxed you at a meeting where you didn't get to vote. That's illegal government." Saying the property owners could end such illegal actions, they exhorted, "If you pay them you're letting yourself be taxed without representation." Restless movement rippled through the little group of listeners.

"Common law, 'constitutional law'", they canted, holding up their books, "says taxation without representation is illegal. New laws, legal laws according to 'constitutional law' can soon be on Montana' books and illegal taxing of property will end, if we stand together," they said, insisting, that the officials who burdened property owners were common criminals.

Long wooden benches held piles of booklets and supplies for the course they were offering to teach, common law according to biblical references they quoted. When I asked the purpose of them moving to Noxon, as I do most everyone I meet, they told me they'd researched the six western states extensively. Montana, they pointed out, had the weakest legal system coupled with the most sparse population. It would be easy to get legal precedents into the state's statutes of law. And from there, by taking them to the state supreme court, and then to the federal supreme court, America's laws would be shaped.

I'd been a gun-owning, law-abiding, hunter for 40 years, known as outspoken in my viewpoints and willing to tackle the grittiest problem in defense of what was right. Although I'd covered this news beat for twenty years, writing for the *Daily Missoulian*, I'd never heard anything like this before. As I listened to the Trochmans it became clear that outsiders were staking a claim here. What was behind this campaign? Whose money? "Friends" in mid-western states, they told me.

The meeting broke up when Marlin Green, an outspoken retired city planner-turned rancher, rose to speak.

"Don't listen to these rabble-rousers," he growled, calling the solutions the Trochmans proposed for the current tax problem outright stupidity. "You'll just land yourselves in jail." Turning on the crowd, he said, "Go on home, get your tax records, then schedule a meeting with the county commissioners and go have a talk with them. I'll tell you from experience, nothing brings elected officials into line faster than a crowd of angry taxpayers in their office." People left hurriedly. A few lingered. At least one man enrolled in the course.

Trochmans held meetings in towns dotted across the sprawling county. Yet changing Montana's legal system remained an elusive goal. Followers to their cause were soon hauled into court. The newspapers reported numerous incidents. Driving around in vehicles with cardboard license plates became a trademark of affiliation with Trochman's movement, as did refusals to buy drivers licenses and to license businesses. They became the grist of local humor as Montanans naively laughed at what seemed ludicrous, and tch-tched over the law officers who allowed it.

Few realized the subversiveness of these well orchestrated activities, even when a threat was made to hang a judge. But, from one case alone, the resulting \$5,000 cost to Sanders county taxpayers was no laughing matter; to say nothing of the judi-

cial court being tied up for months. Although most of them subsequently purchased licenses, the activists, through the disruption of the judicial process that safeguards Americans, emerged victorious in that skirmish.

The north Idaho "skin heads" were not strangers to Trochman, who made it a point to visit their compound near Hayden Lake. Bible study, he says, was why he conferred with them. Bible study at Trochmans was attended by a few people. Rumors about racism spreading from Idaho into the Clark Fork valley grew. There's never been an ethnic group here, but the welfare of a young family man, who was the only African American living at Noxon, aroused concern. Another town meeting resulted, held this time in the high school gymnasium. About three hundred people attended. One man carried a "whites only" placard. Tension was high. A grass roots Human Rights group evolved. They were solidly against all violence, including harassment and human rights violations. Both groups held the limelight briefly. The Human Rights activists quieted. The Trochmans muted their activities, leeching onto other disenchanted or frustrated citizens, converting a few more followers.

John Trochman accomplished a "marriage in the eyes of God" with Carolyn Gallo-way, according to the advertisement he placed in a local newspaper. Trochmans live in the primitive home established, three miles from Noxon, by Carolyn and her former husband, on lands leased as residential property from the Washington Water Power Company. Their buildings encroach on neighboring land owned by a young family. Intimidated by all the gunfire at night, and what he says is Trochman's paranoia, he's not going to press for his legal rights to the land. His two toddlers and pregnant wife are too vulnerable.

For a time, Trochman did mechanical work on old vehicles, claiming it as his supporting business. The poverty of this eccentric family, for whom food stamps represented basic survival, was apparent, but not unusual in this valley of high population turnover and notorious for its lack of jobs.

As in all small towns, gossip is the system with which a rural populace armors, insulates and safeguards itself. Information, embellished by each repetition, is the accepted way a person's 'grapevine' reputation grows. For instance, Noxonites 'know' the IRS caught Trochman up before he came to Montana, focusing his anger toward the government, like a wayward child towards its parent. They 'know' when Mary Olson, a retired IRS employee, was elected to Noxon's school board, he and Carolyn took her children from school, suspicioning they were being bugged to spy on him.

Thereafter, Noxon's infiltration was chosen carefully. With Carolyn, her two sons from a previous marriage, and a small group of friendlies, he entered our square dancing group. The Fabulous Valley Squares. He was clean shaven then, not quite so blatantly trying to project the image of prophet; the term the media eventually tagged him with.

Quickly he revealed yet other facets of his character. Carolyn's short, ruffled, frou frou panties, normal feminine square dance attire, were exchanged for ankle length pantaloons. Amused glances were exchanged, but no dancer said an unkind word that might embarrass either of them, nor about his hands, rough as a cement workers'. Trochman asked each woman to dance, often exhibiting an old-wordly courtliness which sometimes included a sweeping bow. He genuinely enjoyed swinging, twirling, do-see-do, and promenading each partner.

His overtures to share his religious and political biases, in the schoolhouse multi-purpose room where we danced, were politely rebuffed by most dancers. Usually we steered conversations to commonplace activities. Planting gardens, maintaining tractors, fishing and hunting; everyday things. A few, generally the women, engaged with Trochman in debates over Old and New Testament theology, challenging his claims that only Caucasians who could blush were acceptable in the eyes of God. Derisive laughter met his idea that women should give up their right to vote or to own property. One dancer wrote a letter to the editor pointing out the ridiculousness of women being glad to vote their rights away! Rumors spread that he was anti-Semitic; that that belief was the guiding force behind all his activities. However, founded on the safety of a free nation, "Live and let live" remained the guiding motto in this rural valley. Since the main focus of the club members was dancing and fun, the club didn't splinter.

Emboldened by this freedom, Trochman took another tack. Elections of officers from among the forty or so members were casual annual affairs. Mostly, rather than seeking them, the fun-loving dancers were pressed into accepting the responsibilities of president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. When Hector Harrison, another transplant from Wisconsin who often was Trochman's mentor, became president, Trochman accepted the treasurers position. Hector, who thrived on giving advice, was always heard saying "I'll tell you what you do. . . ." at every opportunity. At a subsequent executive meeting, forbidding dance callers to use what they termed "sexually suggestive" music was discussed. Songs with words such as "you ring my

bell", lay the blanket on the ground", and a number of others, must be banned. The handful of members at the meeting were persuaded and, although not officers, allowed to vote. When two callers, contracted to provide music for the following season, complained about receiving from the club letters which they viewed as censorship, the rest of the members quickly squelched this bid to use them to impose personal viewpoints.

For the most part, Trochman stayed within the bounds proscribed by his fellow dancers. One incident added tellingly to the family's growing reputation that they were involved with a militant element. Imagine watching their teenage son outside on the schoolhouse lawn with other teenagers during a dance break, demonstrating the ring he wore. With a flick of his finger it became a knife; one swift, vicious swipe, and his adversary's jugular could be slit.

With his German bearing, the beard he's since grown, and his well modulated voice, Trochman appears to be striving hard to effectively cast himself as a sincere man caught up in a religious based struggle to right America's morals. Why he involved himself in the militia movement, using it to maneuver himself into national prominence through talk shows and interviews with reporters from around the world, is the subject of international conjecture. Is this son of a preacher a pawn in a movement with far greater stakes than religion or self defense against a government the material Trochmans sells condemns as criminals. In his appearances at press conferences Trochman is easily rattled.

The majority of the valleys' populace are hunters, accustomed to and well acquainted with the sound of large bore rifle fire. Several big game guide lodges operate successfully. However, innumerable stories tell of what is believed to be automatic weapons fire splitting the stillness of the night; of explosions, from home made artillery, rattling windows two miles away; of the arrival of truck loads of ammunition; and of the sheriff's refusal to put a stop to any of it.

Shortly after Carolyn's son, Caleb, got a computer, about two years ago, the family got their first telephone. Carolyn was excited that she'd gotten a job. "Working in ammunition," she told me. Gossip is widespread of ammunitions stockpiles, arsenals, and bunkers here; of survival supplies secreted in these surrounding Cabinet and Bitterroot mountains. The commonly held belief is that this peaceful little valley holds demolition dumps. That their owners, should they meet an incendiary fate, are brainwashed to scream the rallying war cry of "martyr".

There's no question about the fear of gunfire, reportedly generated by Trochman's militia, being viewed as paranoia which is seeding paranoia throughout the community. If "divide and conquer" is another unrecognized strategy, I'm witnessing divisions among the residents such as I've never observed in all my years as historian.

I've only been inside one massively constructed cement underground bunker recently dug into these mountains. Once, at a bible study group I attended, the wife confided a little too much and one of the members got too nosy. It resulted in us ladies trooping downstairs into this secret gun chamber! Of course we were sworn to secrecy. But is there really a woman who can keep a secret? What intimidates me is, I don't know if it's a "militia" bunker or not.

CBS "48 Hours" included Trochman in their report on the angry "hate government" groups. The TV specials' focus seemed bent on providing publicity for the militia's image of itself—that they're poor innocent citizens. They're angry. They'll use guns only in defense against our government. That everyone should sympathize with them. The government is the true enemy of Americans. What seemed to be left unsaid was that they'd choose which laws to abide by according to their perception of 'constitutional laws', or that religion has been heavily influential in Trochman's movement.

Although grass roots opposition to these militant outsiders is strong, most of what was said by the two brave women who did speak up against Trochman ended up on CBS's cutting room floor. Because of Trochman, the name Noxom has been defiled. During the course of our everyday lives, we are now forced to defend ourselves as being separate from the militia Trochman claims to be co-founder of. Oh, we 'know' there are those who say he's a Johnny-come-lately, only utilizing that strategy this past year. But whether he is using it, or it is using him, depends on whether one views this as a religious, political, or economic war.

"Freedom is something that must be earned every day that one lives," former president, Dwight Eisenhower said in 1951. He also said, "War is mankind's most tragic and stupid folly; to seek or advise its deliberate provocation is a black crime against all men."

If apathy becomes a dangerous tool which can be commandeered by militants who pick and chose which laws we obey, you'll not find me apathetic. If the men and women my taxes pay to defend America's laws (the government) make a move against a lawbreaker and the result, by the lawbreakers choice, is similar to Randy

Weavers' tragedy in northern Idaho, or David Koresh's mass suicide in Texas, who will we blame? Those who stockpile arms and ammunition and defy America's laws? Or the government we elect, and those they hire to protect us? Yes, "Freedom is something that must be earned every day that one lives." The struggle for political and theological domination is just as cyclic as the forces of nature that shape our land. I want not to be ruled by guns and terrorism.

I urge you to take appropriate measures to protect America from Trochman and his kind.

Sincerely yours,

MONA VANEK, *author.*

VITAE

MONA VANEK

Mona Leeson Vanek is a retired member of The National League of American Pen Women, 21 year member of Spokane Writer's, 10 year member of PNWC, and charter member of Sandpoint Chapter of Idaho Writer's League. She began her writing career as a weekly news "stringer" for local papers in 1960. Between 1969-1980 she sold hundreds of daily news and photo-journalism stories to The Missoulian. *Writer's Digest*, *Grit*, *Trailer Life*, *Montana Journal*, are among the national magazines publishing her works. *BEHIND THESE MOUNTAINS*, a three volume history collection, documenting settlement of the Clark Fork River valley in western Sanders county, won her the 1992 Idaho Writer Of The Year award. Her teaching experience includes classes in photography, interviewing and history writing; 1989 PNWC panel participant, speaking on researching, cataloguing and writing history; and a workshop, *Researching Methods That Sell Magazine Articles*.

AFFIDAVIT OF FACTS OPPOSING VENUE

Member of the Sovereign Body - Sanders County, Republic of Montana State,
United States of America

John Ernest Trochmann
Twentieth Judicial District
C/O P.O. Box 98
Noxon, Montana
United States of America

**PUBLIC NOTICE
POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION OF JOHN ERNEST TROCHMANN**

REPUBLIC OF MONTANA STATE]

Affirmed:

Sanders County]

I, John Ernest Trochmann, upon due affirmation, hereby depose and state the following facts with the intent of positively setting forth my complete identity including, but not limited to, the signature and seal by which I am positively identified and by which I solemnize other documents:

1. This Affidavit is made as a matter of my own right to do so (Sue Juris) and is made in and by my own proper person (in propria persona); and,
2. I am of full age and otherwise fully competent to make this affidavit and am not under the guardianship or disability of another; and,
3. I do not retain, nor have I ever had any valid or binding identification, bearing my signature, issued by any state, the United States, their agencies or affiliates; and,
4. Set out immediately below is a true and correct reproduction of my personal identification, produced and to be verified by myself according to the instant Public Notice and which contains true, correct and current personal information that identifies myself, John Ernest Trochmann, and which contains, in addition, the identifying document number of the instant Public Notice in the blank provided, as soon as practicable after same is set out herein and provided to myself by the Sanders County Recorder's Office:

PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION
DOB: 08/20/43; SEX: MALE
RACE: WHITE; HT: 5'11"
WT: 160; EYES: BR; HAIR: BR. (PHOTO)
JOHN ERNEST TROCHMANN
TWENTIETH JUDICIAL DISTRICT
C/O P.O. Box 98
NOXON MONTANA
United States of America
BIRTHPLACE: PENNINGTON COUNTY,
MINNESOTA

(FRONT)

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, THAT THE FACTS
STATED ON THE REVERSE SIDE ARE A TRUE
AND ACCURATE PART OF THE ORIGINAL VERI-
FIED DOCUMENT. FILED WITH
THE SANDERS COUNTY RECORDER'S OFFICE IN
THE REPUBLIC OF MONTANA STATE

1-2-26 *John Ernest Trochmann* SEAL
DATE: JOHN ERNEST TROCHMANN
Randolph Trochmann *Robert J. Trochmann*
WITNESS WITNESS

IF LOST, RETURN POSTAGE IS GUARANTEED
BY JOHN ERNEST TROCHMANN
(Dated):

5. I, John Ernest Trochmann, a free white Christian man was born on or about August 20, 1943 in Pennington County, in the Republic of Minnesota State, a State of these United States of America; and,

6. I, John Ernest Trochmann, was begotten by Ernest J. Trochmann, a free white man, born on or about December 21, 1907, in Pennington County, in the Republic of Minnesota State, a State of these United States of America; and,

7. I, John Ernest Trochmann, was conceived and given birth by Emma A. Otmar, a free white woman, born on or about July 11, 1910; and,

8. Ernest J. Trochmann and Emma A. Otmar were one joined in the State of Holy wedlock at the time that I, John Ernest Trochmann, was natural born to them; and,

9. Ernest J. Trochmann and Emma A. Otmar were one joined in the state of Holy wedlock at the time that I, John Ernest Trochmann, was natural born to them; and,

10. Set out in the verification to this Public Notice below is the thumb print of my right hand which I have adopted as a personal seal and all documents which contain a verification by signature now and in the future including but not limited to the instant Public Notice, will be solemnized only through the application of said seal and my personal signature; and,

11. The document set out in paragraph number four above will be attested as provided herein immediately upon return of the instant Public Notice from the Sanders County Recorder's Office after being duly filed therein; and,

12. The document set out in paragraph four above incorporates the instant Public Notice as if full set out therein, upon attestation thereof, shall be the only document used by me for personal identification purposes, and no other verified document will be valid for said purpose subject only to the exceptions stated herein as follows; and,

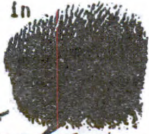
13. Transient information (i.e. permanent place of abode) set out in the document in paragraph four above is subject to change only by my written verification which shall set out the updated information, shall make proper

reference to the instant Public Notice, which shall specifically identify what information contained herein has become obsolete and which shall be filed in the Sanders County Recorder's Office and/or any other relevant Recorder's Office, within thirty days of the actual change of facts; and,

16. The above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, is executed in good faith, and shall not expire without written repudiation by my own hand and seal; and,

FURTHER AFFIANT SAITH NOT.

SUBSCRIBED, SEALED AND AFFIRMED this 26th day of January, in the Year of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Christ, Nineteen Hundred and Ninety-two, in Sanders County.


John Ernest Trochmann
 John Ernest Trochmann
 Twentieth Judicial District
 C/O P.O. Box 98
 Noxon, Montana
 United States of America

We, the undersigned, witness this day, that the one known to us to be the above signator did personally appear before us in Sanders County, and upon affirmation did execute and affix the above signature and seal hereto.

Republic of Montana State Citizen,

Randy L. Trochmann

Republic of Montana State Citizen,

Michael R. Rutter

Republic of Montana State Citizen,

David C. Trochmann

AFFIDAVIT OF FACTS OPPOSING VENUE

REPUBLIC OF MONTANA STATE]
 Affirmed :
 SANDERS COUNTY]

1. I, John Ernest Trochmann, a free white Christian man, was born on or about August 20, 1943, in Pennington County, in the Republic of Minnesota State, a State of these United States of America; and,
2. I, John Ernest Trochmann, was begotten by Ernest J. Trochmann, a free white man, born on or about December 21, 1907, in Pennington County, in the Republic of Minnesota State, a State of these United States of America; and,
3. I, John Ernest Trochmann, was conceived and given birth by Emma A. Otmar, a free white woman, born on or about July 11, 1910; and,
4. Ernest J. Trochmann and Emma A. Otmar were one joined in the State of Holy wedlock at the time that I, John Ernest Trochmann, was natural born to them; and,
5. I, John Ernest Trochmann, am a free white Christian man, Republic of Montana State Citizen; and,
6. I have been in the Republic of Montana State for approximately 4 years and during that time have made Sanders County my permanent place of abode, and therefore am a Citizen therein; and,
7. I am not a corporation; and,
8. I am not a partnership; and,
9. I am not an individual; and,
10. I am not an association; and,
11. I am not a firm; and,
12. I am not any other legal entity; and,
13. I am not an inhabitant of the state of the forum; and,
14. I am not now, nor have I ever, knowingly been a citizen of the United States or a resident of its subordinate territories, or property appertaining thereto, in either a legal or factual sense; and,
15. I am not, nor have I ever, knowingly entered into any personal internal or private agreement, contract, stipulation, account or similar contrivance with the United States, its territories, its agencies or other property appertaining thereto; and,

16. I have not now, nor have I ever, knowingly been a resident of the regional State of Montana; and,

17. I have not, nor have I ever, knowingly entered into any personal or public agreement, contract, stipulation, account or similar contrivance (either implied or direct) with the regional State of Montana or any other regional agency operating within the geographical area in the regional State of Montana with the sanction of the Montana legislature; and,

18. I have never knowingly applied for or acquired or accepted an artificial alter ego(character) of any State, or the United States, its territories or insular possessions, or any agency created or regulated by the statutes thereof; and,

19. I have never knowingly applied for nor received any privilege from any agency of the State of Montana or the United States; and,

20. I am not, nor have I ever been a member of the armed forces of the State of Montana or the United States; and,

21. I am not a federal citizen by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment; and,

22. I have no Social Security account or taxpayer/employer account numbers, driver's license, or any other nexus with any City, County, State or Federal governments or their affiliates, never having applied for or received same with my full knowledge or consent; and,

23. I have deduced from the foregoing that I am not actually or constructively a resident, citizen, subject or inhabitant of the United States or its affiliates, and that I am not an internal "person" or "employer", either of the (corporate) State of Montana or the Federal government, as defined in the various State or Federal revised statutes and,

24. I specifically declare that my location of abode is:

John Ernest Trochmann
Twentieth Judicial District
C/O P.O. Box 98
Noxon, Republic of Montana State
United States of America

25. It is, and has been, my perpetual intention to retain and assert my ALMIGHTY GOD-given birth right (unalienable rights) at all times, and never to voluntarily waive any of these precious rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (property) under any circumstances whatsoever; and,

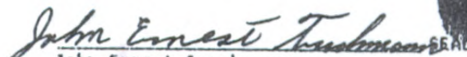
26. It has been, and still is, my intention to exercise my unalienable rights endowed to me by my Creator by whatever means are lawfully within the American Common Law, as a member of the posterity of the body politic as established by the Statute of 1776 (Declaration of Independence), and re-established in the Preamble to the Constitution for the United States of America; and,

27. This affidavit is made in good faith and is intended to establish my location of abode under the venue established in the Organic Law of this union and in this Republic, to maintain and to assist in retaining the sovereignty of "We the People" in the Republic of Montana State against the encroachment of the legislative municipal powers of the United States congress exercised by their regional agents; and,

28. The foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and is made in good faith; and,

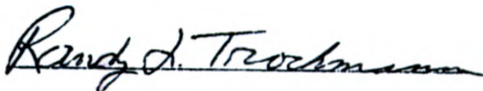
FURTHER AFFIANT SAITH NOT.

SUBSCRIBED AND AFFIRMED this 26th day of January, in the year of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Christ, Nineteen Hundred and Ninety-two.

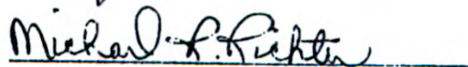

 John Ernest Trochmann
 Twentieth Judicial District
 C/O P.O. Box 98
 Republic of Montana State
 United States of America

We, the undersigned, witness this day that the one know to us to be the above signator did personally appear before us and upon due affirmation execute and affix the above signature and seal hereto.

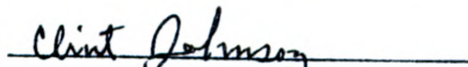
Republic of Montana State Citizen;



Republic of Montana State Citizen;



Republic of Montana State Citizen;



Member of the Sovereign Body - Sanders County, Republic of Montana State,
United States of America

John Ernest Trochmann
Twentieth Judicial District
C/O P.O. Box 98
Noxon, Republic of Montana State
United States of America

DECLARATION OF JOHN ERNEST TROCHMANN

REPUBLIC OF MONTANA STATE]

Affirmed:

SANDERS COUNTY]

Declarant hereby DECLARES that, pursuant to Article 3 section 6 "Courts of justice shall be open to every person, and a speedy remedy afforded for every injury of person, property, or character; and that right and justice shall be administered without sale, denial, or delay." of the original Constitution for the Republic of Montana State, that Declarant is of the status and thereby has the ability to claim the protections against governmental abuse of Declarant's unalienable rights which are endowed to Declarant by his Creator which are protected by the Constitution for the Republic of Montana State and the Constitution for the United States of America; and,

Declarant is a member of the body sovereign, a Republic of Montana State Citizen, free and white (by heritage) Natural (by birth) Expressed (by published affidavit, see exhibits) individual (by God and no other) co-heir to the Supreme Law of the Land as designated by the Preamble and provisions of the original Montana Constitution (1889), at, but not limited to:

"We the people of Montana, grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty, in order to secure the advantages of a state government, do, in accordance with the provisions of the enabling act of congress, approved the twenty-second of February, A.D. 1889, ordain and established this constitution."

"We the people of Montana grateful to God for the quiet beauty of our state, the grandeur of our mountains, the vastness of our rolling plains, and desiring to improve the quality of life, equality of opportunity and to secure the blessings of liberty for this and future generations do ordain and establish this constitution."

"The words 'We the People of the United States' and 'Citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the Government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the 'sovereign people', and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty." Dred Scott v. Sandford 19 How. 405; and,

Page 1 of 4 - DECLARATION

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of the United States Congress of 1790 chapter 3, as amended and/or superseded by Immigration and naturalization acts of the United States Congress to 1828 , and similar acts by subsequent amendments in affect at the adoption of the Montana Constitution made it very clear that a free white person is a citizen of Montana; and,

"The first of these acts is the naturalization law, which was passed at the second session of the first Congress, March 26, 1790, and confines the right of becoming citizens 'to aliens being free white persons.'" Dred Scott V. Sandford 19 How. 419

"But the language of the law above quoted, shows that citizenship at that time was perfectly understood to be confined to the white race; and that they alone constituted the sovereignty in the government." Dred Scott V. Sandford 19 How. 420

"This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Article VI par. 2 Constitution for the united States of America; and,

The term "We the people of Montana" in the Preamble's of both the old and new Constitutions for the State of Montana are not contrary to the organic Constitution of the United States of America and are within the meaning of the definition as cited in Dred Scott V. Sandford, supra. This is the status of Declarant, and Declarant is always retaining and asserting all of his unalienable rights endowed to Declarant by his Creator at all times and never waiving any of those rights which are protected from abuses of government by the organic Constitution for the United States of America and the organic Constitution for the Republic of Montana State, pursuant to and as the positive law; and,

Declarant's Montana State Citizenship does not emanate from, nor is it protected by, Article II section 4, for the Montana Constitution nor its counterpart the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution; and,

"There can be no doubt...that the civil rights sometimes described as fundamental and inalienable, which before the war amendments were enjoyed by state citizenship and protected by state government, were left untouched this clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." Twining V. New Jersey, 211 US 78, 96

but is a citizenship by virtue of the original (organic) Constitution of Montana and protected by the Montana Constitution's Preamble and its provisions of suffrage, and as mandated by the framers, which were delegated by the people in the Republic of Montana State to create the positive law in the original Montana Constitution; and,

Declarant is free, which is proven by the attached exhibits in support hereof, not being bound to serve the state government as a "subject" through any contractual or quasi contractual relationship whatsoever, but a Citizen unembarrassed; and,

Declarant's status and intent are established, in fact and in law, by proper notification to all material parties with said exhibits which evidences Declarant's birthplace and race; and,

Declarant has no contracts with the Corporate State (region) of Montana, nor does Declarant owe any debts to the Corporate State (region) of Montana which could constitute any waiver of Declarant's unalienable rights endowed to Declarant by his Creator and protected by the Organic Constitution for the United States of America, its Bill of Limitations, and the Organic Montana State Constitution; and,

Therefore, it is established by the foregoing, and the exhibits in support hereof, that Declarant has the ability and the proper status and is in no way disabled to assert and claim the protections of the positive organic laws of the Montana State Constitution; and,

For the Support of this DECLARATION, with a firm Reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, I pledge my Life, my Fortune, and my sacred Honor as did my forefathers (ie. signers of the Declaration of Independence).

The above is true and correct to the best of Declarant's knowledge, and is made out in good faith; and,

FURTHER DECLARANT SAITH NOT.

SUBSCRIBED AND AFFIRMED this 26 day of January, in Sanders County, in the Republic of Montana State, in the Year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ, Nineteen Hundred and Ninety-two.

 (SEAL)

John Ernest Trochmann

Sui Juris

Republic of Montana State Citizen
Van Valkenburg v. Brown 43 Cal. 43
Twentieth Judicial District
C/O P.O. Box 90
Noxon, Montana
United States of America

We, the undersigned, witness this day that the one known to us to be the above signator did personally appear before us in Sanders County, in the Republic of Montana State and upon due affirmation affix the above signature and seal hereto.

Republic of Montana State Citizen, David C. Trachman

Republic of Montana State Citizen, Randy L. Trachman

Republic of Montana State Citizen, Michael R. Lichten

"A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." - The Second Amendment



THE MILITIAMAN'S NEWSLETTER

TAKING AIM



VOLUME II, ISSUE NO. 11, 1995
JANUARY

MOM, C/O P.O. BOX 1486, NOXON, MT. 59853
(406) 847-2246 voice/fax, or, 2735 voice

RE-ESTABLISHING OUR CONSTITUTIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT ~

(Self-Government):

THE SOLUTION AND THE PLAN

I have been studying and re-searching Constitutional Law for over ten years; testing theories in the courts; rescinded my contracts with the State and Federal Governments; spent my time in jail; never finding a solution to the problem. Sure I have found solutions to a few of the symptoms of the problem, but have never been able to get remedy or find a cure to the problem.

The patriot movement, for years, has been trying to find a solution to the problem. Since patriots are fiercely independent, they couldn't agree on any one solution. Consequently, decades have been spent on defining and redefining the "problem", literally beating it to death without finding the solution.

Finally after years of searching for a solution to the problem I had the pleasure of spending a couple of days during the third week of January with some men who have been researching for many years

the way our nation was formed and how our founding fathers established government at all levels: National, State, County and Local. These men call themselves: "Freemen".

For years I have been asking people "if the enemy shut off the car, pulled the keys, and handed them to you, could you even start the car, let alone drive it?" These men can honestly say "yes" to both questions.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

No one ever thought about going back to the basic building block of government: the "county," where it all began. Remember the town hall meetings. The People came together, debated and solved their problems. These were the days of the "elisors."

Elisors were the "electors or choosers" (see Webster's 1828, Blacks 1st, or Blackstone's Com-

mentaries). When things went awry, yesterday's Daniels stepped forward into the breach. True men, with integrity, who loved truth and justice would make things right, no matter what the cost (sounds like today's patriots). These men served on grand and petit juries; they served the great Writs in the name of the People. This was especially true when the Sheriff refused or failed to act. "All that is necessary for evil to thrive..." but then you remember that one, don't we?

The "elisor solution" as we will call it, is being revived. It was never eliminated, repealed or removed from America's fundamental law. Coupled with, yes, the justices' supreme court (elisors' court) at the county level. Not the elite privileged, Titled Nobilities of the STATE SUPREME COURT; now filled with those who are part of the "problem" and servants, not of the People, but of

Corporate America. Just a plain old simple supreme court at the county level. Go to your law libraries in your state. Find your early state law books and look for sections which talk about three distinct courts - the supreme court, the district or superior courts of the county, and the Supreme Court of the State of _____. There are generally two (2) supreme court references. Why? Because these are two separate, distinct and exclusive courts. We had the Daniehs' of old, this "justice court" would be the three or more county commissioners or supervisors. But they're mostly representing the special monied interests. Always remember the corrupt "problem." Offices today, are filled with politicians, NOT statesmen. Are we then stymied and back to square one? No, there is a way around... God always provides a solution; and the freemen will never lose their court. We never lost the supreme court at the county level. It's just been concealed by statutes and procedures (and other establishment rabbit trails) to the point where it is easily overlooked.

If the sheriff won't act, and the commissioners won't open their supreme court, and the judges' won't convene a grand jury... you always have had the Right to form a township. That's the solution.

With an Ad Hoc committee (that's a few good men), you can appoint a Notary, then a clerk, the two justices' of the peace, and finally, two constables to execute their edicts or precepts (orders coming from the sovereign) of the justices' courts. You can have multiple townships in one county, depending on the size and number of township/precincts. In early law

each township was separate and exclusive. They still are. For example, in the country of Montana, each county must have "at least two townships," this would also require "two constables." Therefore, Montana would have 112 Justices' of the Peace, and 112 constables to serve the People as their courts of justice. The statutory scheme eventually renamed them Precincts. Each of the township/precincts have always had the Right to form their own local government, under local control.

That was the basic concept or building block of a self-governing People under the Law of God. Ah! the birth of a new big government? Not if we mind the store this time. You probably shouldn't pay these folks that much... that's probably where we went wrong in the first place. If they start asking about dental plans, eye care, and paid benefits, it might be better to look elsewhere, or refer them to Hillary. It shouldn't take that long to correct the problem with the sitting county commissioners. After convening a grand jury to really investigate local corruption, those "folks," that's the good ole boy club, made up of politicians, attorneys and judges should be occupying the "gray bar hotel." With new elections coming, influenced by the elisors, perhaps we might even find "statesmen" who would actually serve their fellow man - with a love for dignity, honesty, truth, justice and the Law. Sounds almost like the American Union which our forefathers envisioned and established with Divine Providence; Christian ideals, economics and principles; and Nature's Law; all blended together to bring peace, prosperity and happiness to a People who would accept re-

sponsibility, accountability and be self-governing. The price of freedom has always been eternal vigilance.

We have an obligation to be the light of the world, the role model; and if we are, perhaps we won't have to be the most expensive "policemen of the world."

We were supposed to be a self-governing People. A responsible, accountable People under God. But only a People strongly rooted in Christian Faith and Law can make that system work. All others will fail. We will fail again and again, if we forget the lessons of history. We must have a strong rock foundation to build on. Read the Bible as a history text. Its about a People who were disobedient, who went to sleep, who allowed the legalistic factions to infiltrate their lives and government. In each instance, it was not long before they found themselves in bondage. Sound familiar? We have forgotten history's tough lessons several times in our past and have paid dearly each time. Truly there is nothing new under the sun. And, this is the method.

If this sounds to good to be true, its not. Justus Township, Montana state is alive and well today. They have reinstated the common law, their own justice court, Notary, Clerk and Constable, just as it was in the 1890's. All of their instruments, documents and documentation has been certified with the secretary of state. Babylon, the establishment, is in a state of confusion.

METHOD

This outline serves as a brief outline or overview of the "nuts and bolts" of the method; it is not intended to replace the training pe-

mod of approximately four (4) days which is normally required to teach the concepts necessary to fully implement this system of law at the county level. The training is intended to enable the elisor to return to his Township and both set up their Common Law system and in turn teach his community the essentials of reviving Rights in Law and their own self government. We the People are "sovereign."

I. Ad Hoc Committee (of elisors) is established:

a) Notary Public is designated and certified on the county level; serves as a Justice, Clerk and/or Notary.

b) Committee studies, researches and becomes articulate in the problem, solution and methods to correct the problem.

c) Committee establishes the Township under Notarial Seal and minutes of their meetings; using special appointments and special elections (look up "special").

d) Township appoints two (2) Justices' of the Peace and two (2) constables.

X e) Township officers, justices' and constables then go to the county commissioners' and present the "problem" and propose a peaceful resolution through a self-governing, responsible, accountable local government under existing law and the Common Law. Notice and Demand is given to Commissioners'.

f) Township continually studies UCC, commercial law and com-

mercial liens for enforcement of their edicts, precepts and attachments' should this remedy become necessary. Commercial liens and Warrants (Writs) of Attachment are the enforcement tools.

II. Township(s) give county commissioners a reasonable and stipulated period of time to take appropriate action to correct the problem:

a) Township(s) provide resources and assistance to the commissioners to correct the problem.

b) Township officers' attend all meetings thereafter to monitor progress or lack thereof.

c) Certification of various officers' is verified;

FLOW CHART/ BUILDING BLOCKS

ELISORS
(electors-choosers)



AD HOC COMMITTEE

(Town Hall Meeting ~ Common Gathering: Problem, Solution & Method discussed/debated; Orderly ~ a "Notary" & "Clerk" Appointed)



TOWNSHIP
(Formed & Established)

Justice
of the Peace

↓
Constable or
Elisor

Justice
of the Peace

↓
Constable or
Elisor

Is it easy? No, there is no free

lunch. Just as there are parallel governments (de facto & de jure) at the State and Federal level, there are provisions for parallel governments at the county level. You must study, research and have commitment. Blow the dust off the old law books and old dictionaries, and find your original source in Law in your respective states. But, this time you will be rewarded with something you can clearly see. A return to Self Government.

THE REMEDY

Not only have these "Freemen" discovered through years of researching our fore-fathers plan for self-government, they have also found a means for restitution for the damage the "corporate" government and it's agents have done to the "natural" government and it's governing body (the people).

If you have been injured by an agent of the corporate government, such as the I.R.S. there is a remedy by filing a lien against the individual. Here are the steps that you take.

1) Send the individual(s) who injured you a confession/admission form. Example: I, John Doe [I.R.S. agent] did knowingly and intentionally commit the following acts against _____ in violation of Article Four.....and that I understand that if I do not sign and return this form within ten days without objecting to the above, with substantial evidence that by my silence I admit my guilt....

2) Fill out the lien form, specifying who the debtor is and the creditor and how much the lien is for (whatever you feel your freedom is worth). Send them a copy. Give

them 15 days for response objecting to lien.

3) File in clerk and recorders office for your county after time limit has expired in number 2.

4) After 24 hours of filing lien, file foreclosure form in clerk and recorders office.

5) Publish default notice in your county newspaper for three consecutive weeks. Send copy of default notice after three weeks to party who injured you.

6) Finally take certified copies of your documents that are on file at the county clerk and recorders office to a bank where you have an established account. Instruct the bank to deposit the liens in that account as an asset from which you will receive a line of credit in that amount.

✧ The bank has until midnight of the day of presentment to accept it and enter it into the system. The bank has an additional 72 hours to dishonor the presentment and return it to you. If the bank does not dishonor it nor enter it into the system as a credit to your account you would then present a protest using you/Notary Public as the public witness to the banks default.

✧ As of this time the "Freemen" have deposited billions of dollars in liens. The banks are claiming that the accounts are closed. However, account status reports clearly have shown that the liens were entered as assets to the account - and the buying power of the account was increased by the amount of the lien.

The "Freemen" have written checks on the accounts to credit

card companies; paid off hundreds of thousands of dollars in farm mortgages; paid off I.R.S. liens; etc. They have also purchased computer equipment from a local wholesale company. Incidentally this same company notified them two days later stating the bank told them the account was closed. The "Freemen" notified the wholesale company that if they decided to proceed in an action against themselves to be prepared for transfer of ownership of the company. They never heard another word.

✧ Also, one lady who has worked with the "Freemen" was detained by the FBI for thirty days for questioning. They never filed any charges. For the full thirty days they drilled this lady as to how they could get these liens lifted and how they were able to obtain a bankers manual.

WHO IS LIABLE?

Without getting into much detail, definitions, court cases, etc. I will attempt to make it real plain and simple for you.

Lets look at the words unalienable and inalienable.

In the Declaration of Independence our fore-fathers used the word "unalienable". Bouvier's Law Dictionary, 1914, defines unalienable to be *Incapable of being transferred, and Things which are not in commerce.*

The law dictionaries are vague as to the difference of the these two words. However, we do know that the drafters of the constitution chose their words carefully - so there must be a difference. Under inalienable we do not find the definition of *Things which are not in commerce.*

By breaking the words down

and by adding the word position after each we can see that inalienable is something which can be transferred and is in commerce.

unalienable

un [not in] * a * lien * able * position.

inalienable

in * a * lien * able * position

There is much more involved in becoming free from the system. If you are a Fourteenth Amendment citizen then you have inalienable rights which can be liened. If you are a sovereign, "Freeman" then you have unalienable rights which cannot be liened.

CONCLUSION

After spending those couple of days with these guys I am totally convinced that they have the solution to the problem. 1. "Re-establishing our Constitutional form of Self-government and 2. Restitution for damages.

In order to understand the foundation of this method and how to put it to work for you in your county you need to spend a minimum of four days with the "Freemen". They are holding classes all of the time. If you are ready to find and implement the solution to the problem, instead of "beating the problem to death", then contact us here at MOM and we will help you make arrangements to spend the time you need with the "Freemen".

I would like to thank Leroy, Dan, Rod and especially Frank who provided me with the outlines I needed for this article. You guys are paving new roads for the rest of us. Keep up the good work and may our Heavenly Father continue to Bless and Protect you from the enemy.

HELENA INDEPENDENT RECORD

Sunday, April 2nd

FREEMAN BELIEFS

Fugitive espouses
ideas behind group

By GRANT SASEK
IR Staff Writer

Who do you serve? Rodney Skurdal.

In a 20-page brief filed in Musselshell County in October 1994, Rodney Skurdal spells out how notions espoused by white supremacists are comfortable with the views of Constitutionalists and Freemen.

In that document Skurdal, a Freeman from nearby Garfield County and a fugitive hiding out in the Bull Mountains, explained in the brief that there are two types of law, "God's Law" and "Man's Law."

Skurdal says he follows "God's Law."

The following are some of Skurdal's interpretations of that law:

On the right to forsake U.S. laws, Skurdal argues that both the Declaration of Independence and the Montana Constitution give him the right to "abandon our form of government."

"It cites quotations from both: "...that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Declaration of Independence.

"The people of the state have the sole and exclusive right... to alter and abolish their constitution and form of government whenever they may deem it necessary to their safety and happiness." Article III, Section 2, Montana Constitution.

Skurdal continues that "We do not submit to foreigners nor aliens to rule over us nor are We the People subject to the laws of man nor the constitutions."

On being a Freeman: "How many of the People of Israel (Adam/white race) have rejected the words of Almighty God, and rejected their 'faith' (surety) in Almighty God, to worship man made laws, 'color of law,' such as applying for a social

UNDERGROUND NEWS

Sunday, April 2nd

security card/number, marriage licenses, drivers licenses, insurance, vehicle registration, welfare from the corporations, electrical inspections, permits to build your private home, income taxes, property taxes, inheritances taxes, etc., etc., etc... Once you have applied for those benefits... you have voluntarily become their new 'slaves' to tax at their will, for you are no longer 'free,' i.e., a 'freeman.'"

On property taxes: "...if we the white race are God's chosen people...and our Lord God stated that 'the earth is mine,' why are we paying taxes on 'His land?'" Why are you allowing 'your' public servants to tax His land that He gave us...Why have you thrown away your inheritance?"

A 3-STEP APPROACH TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

At the "Meeting of Christian Men" held in October 1992 in Estes Park, Colo., a report was written that included a three-step approach to civil action.

The plan was inspired by Moses' confrontation with an Egyptian pharaoh as told in the book of Exodus.

According to the report, the first step in winning the battle against the government is to petition it with specific grievances.

If the grievances are not redressed, move on to the second step — charge the oppressive government with breaking their own contract with the people and with violating God's law.

During this step, the report states, court action may be taken, although it may not be required.

The last step is to take "proper Biblical actions."

THE REPORT REFERS readers to a section by the Sacred Warfare and Tactics (SWAT) committee.

The report added that the third step is to be resorted to "only when the prior actions fail."

That section advises members to purchase cellular telephones, establish code words and never retire at night angry with their spouse.

No. 415: PAUL D. WILCHER (ATTORNEY) LETTER TO JANET RENO - 100+ pages - \$12.00

This document exposes the **SHADOW GOVERNMENT** within the CIA and how it has been using "MIND CONTROL" on people including David Koresh and six of his men.

Shortly after sending this letter, Mr. Wilcher was found dead, sitting naked on his toilet - his death was ruled suicide. His death was followed by another "suicide" of Vincent Foster, another attorney, who was one of Bill Clinton's White House Counsels. The proofs are conclusive that both of these Attorney's were **MURDERED** by the Shadow Government.

The push is on, as one bears witness to the "NEWS" events in early December 1993 on the New York subway...that the individual stated in a dazed, stupor, "I must have done something wrong." He was obviously a CIA pre-programmed asset. This was a pre-planned agenda to continue their efforts to **DISARM THE UNORGANIZED MILITIAS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.**

No. 416: THE IRON WOLF PAPERS 70 pages - \$10.00

Ammunition stockpiling, M-1 carbine, radiation protection, body armor, basic equipment, food storage - 72 hour kit, water purification, etc.

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A plan for the restoration of freedom when our country has been taken over by it's enemies. 20 chapters on organization, recruiting, intelligence, communications, supply, weapons, sabotage, medicine, warfare, and training, etc. This book will strengthen the arms of those who fight for liberty.

No. 418: CITIZEN SOLDIER - \$13.00 (192 pages) by Robert Bradley

An absolutely incredible book detailing what every militiaman needs to know. The Chapters in this book are: 1. *Defining and Meeting the Threats*; 2. *Resistance - The Citizen's Defense*; 3. *Organization and Buildup of the Resistance Movement*; 4. *Combat employment*; 5. *Interdiction of Target Systems*; 6. *Intelligence*; 7. *Defensive Operations*; 8. *Psychological Operations*; 9. *The Law of Land Warfare*; 10. *Equipment*; 11. *Information*; 12. *Basic Rifle Marksmanship*; Appendix A - *The Urban Defense*; Appendix B - *Planning*. Readers will learn to: Organize a Neighborhood Watch; Prepare for Natural and Man-made Disasters; Combat Rising Crime; Take Precautions Against Terrorism; Use Guerilla Tactics to Protect Your Home, Family and Freedom.

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This is the Militiaman's motivational guide. Quoting from the book: *Certain people have turned the American Dream into a Nightmare. What are we going to do about them?* After you have read this book you will never think twice about your decision to be a part of the militia

*"Let the High Praises of God
Be in Their Mouth,*

ARYAN



*And a Twoedged Sword
In Their Hand..." Ps. 149:6*

NATIONS

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Hayden, Idaho 83833

Church of Jesus Christ Christian

(208) 772-2406

A Trochmann

April 5, 1995

In regards to John Trochmann's comments about the Aryan Nations

Why lie about the number of times here, especially when you came over several times for Bible studies? John, you even helped us write out a set of rules for our code of conduct on the church grounds. For all the problems you claim you found at the Church, as there always will be with any group of people, why did you immediately move skinheads to your place and then whine about their conduct? Maybe you're just a first class whiner when things don't suit you?

We expel abusers of women and children and then offer safe refuge to those same women and children. We can't say the same of some of your associates. Abusers of alcohol and drugs are kicked out when proven guilty and then they join your groups or they go on speaking tours for the human rights task force.

We have had trouble with federal agents at the Church, and always will, but you John, are constantly intact with the F.B.I. and the B.A.T.F., yet you have always accused others of being federal agents of one kind or another. You condemned Randy Weaver for not fighting to the last breath and bullet against an army of men, but yet cower and lock your car door against two little ol' Montana deputies. They must make deputies pretty mean and tough in Montana. We do thank God that no one was hurt while you were there trying to run the wild.

We would remind you, Mr. Trochmann, that this is a Church of God, rather than an armed compound, like your headquarters is reported to be. We understand that you do not accept Jesus the Christ to be the Son of God and our Savior. We would therefore deduce that you must be some sort of "anti-Christ" that we choose to have no contact with. We will though, pray that you may some day see his light of love, and eternal life. We would hope that this can happen while you are busy cleaning up everyone's back yard, and maybe your own, if there is enough time.

Mr. Trochmann, be advised that we do not desire to have your name mentioned with ours either in any of your future press releases, or planned interviews, that is unless you would like us there to mention names, dates, places, and statistics from your past. The government you so hate is probably happy to see racial kindred now fighting amongst themselves, courtesy of your comments.

We do however, fully support the militia as a constitutional provision for preservation of Our Nation, i.e. Race.

Aryan Nations Staff

Senator SPECTER. We now turn to the distinguished Senator from Michigan, Senator Levin.

STATEMENT OF HON. CARL LEVIN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Senator LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you, and Senator Kohl, Senator Feinstein. Thank you, first of all, for holding the hearings and giving me an opportunity to testify today. It is a very important hearing that you are holding here today because of the activities of the militias.

I have met with law enforcement officials in my State. I have listened to my constituents who are concerned with the militia movement. One of their concerns is the extreme rhetoric coming from some of the militias and their leaders. Norm Olson, who is scheduled to testify here later, said on national television just after the Oklahoma City bombing that the Federal Government itself may have participated in the bombing, "as a way of inciting public outrage and anger toward other patriotic movements in America." How is that for a suggestion, that we may have killed our own employees and children?

The militias were growing and active long before Oklahoma City. Their internal publications and instructional videos are filled with the language of hate and with paranoid conspiracy theories. This publication, distributed by the Wolverine Brigade of the Southern Michigan Regional Militia, says that,

There are four massive crematoriums in the USA now complete with gas chambers and guillotines * * * more than 130 concentration camps already set up from Florida to Alaska * * * more than two million of us are already on computer lists for "detention" and "liquidation."

The manual of the Southern Michigan Regional Militia says that the "militia exists in order to keep government in check."

People have the right to say hateful things and believe hateful things about their government, but that doesn't make it right to say them. Extreme hate rhetoric contributes to an incendiary atmosphere in which an unstable individual will take the rhetoric seriously and light a match or a fuse.

Now, as Senator Kohl pointed out, the activities of militia members go beyond mere speech, and many of these activities are disturbing, especially the stockpiling of firearms and explosives, paramilitary training, conducting surveillance of, and even stalking, law enforcement personnel.

Last September, in Fowlerville, MI, police stopped three men for a traffic violation and because of reports that they were stalking a woman. The three men wore camouflage and said they were members of the Michigan Militia on night maneuvers. According to police chief Gary Krause, inspection of the car revealed notes indicating that the men had engaged in surveillance operations against police departments, communication towers, and new world order people.

The car contained a large number of loaded weapons, including an AK-47, plus armor-piercing ammo, tracer rounds, night vision goggles, gas masks, two-way radios, bayonets, and knives. The police also found rules of engagement which said that the men were

an equal opportunity hit squad that should treat potential targets without prejudice for race, color, or religion.

The three men that were arrested skipped bail, but at their appointed hearing time more than 30 camouflage-clad members of the Michigan Militia showed up at the Livingston County courthouse saying things like the following, "The next time you take our guns, we will shoot you." Two of the three fugitives were later apprehended, one with another car full of weapons, and one is still at large.

Another incident: Soon after starting his job a few months ago, the new chief of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in Detroit found a "Support the Militia" bumper sticker had been placed on his car, and he and other ATF agents have now been receiving phone calls from self-identified militia members threatening, "we're coming after you and your children."

In the course of an ATF investigation in a Detroit suburb, a former militia member told agents that another militia member had told him in September 1994, "I found out where the ATF office is and I'm going to find a way to take them all out." In Grand Rapids, MI, State police investigating a crime found a Grand Rapids ATF agent's name, address, and child's school location in the possession of a suspect who was identified as a militia member.

In April, 2 weeks before the Oklahoma City bombing, at an airport near Detroit, U.S. marshals and Bureau of Prisons officials were waiting for the weekly flight of the NPTS, the National Prisoner Transportation System. They found a man on the perimeter of the area that they had secured, who was recording vehicle descriptions and license numbers. He identified himself as a patriot who claimed he was on hand to make sure everything was conducted properly. He was subsequently identified from newspaper photographs as a brigade commander in the Michigan Militia.

This particular flight had been rescheduled to an unusual time, and yet he was aware of that and had surveillance in place. Now, we don't know why he was studying the movements of prisoner transportation vehicles, but the officers on hand were concerned about the security of prisoners that the plane would be delivering and about their own safety in light of this militia surveillance.

Now, these instances are troubling, in part, because they involve surveillance or stalking of law enforcement officials and activities which are threatening to officers and their families. These instances indicate an organized effort against law enforcement officials by militia members. Our police and Federal law enforcement officials already lay their lives on the line to protect public safety and any effort to threaten them should be of great, and is of great concern to all of us.

We don't need private armies, Mr. Chairman, to protect us from our government. We have the ballot box to change our government, and if elected officials at the local, State, or Federal level violate the constitutional rights of individual citizens, we have an independent judiciary to protect those rights. Courts have protected our rights as individuals against Presidents, against the Congress, against Governors, and against legislatures. So we don't need these private armies to protect us from our government. We are blessed with having a free ballot and an independent judiciary.

Mr. Chairman, there have been a number of proposals that have been considered by this committee over the years and over the decades relative to the paramilitary activities of these private armies and private militias, and I would hope that this committee will be reviewing these past efforts and bringing them up to date by looking at the current activities of many of these militias because the paramilitary activities of these private armies raise serious public safety concerns.

So your work is very important. I commend you on it and I thank you again for the opportunity to testify today.

[The prepared statement of Senator Levin follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN

Thank you for holding these hearings, and for providing me an opportunity to testify today.

The recent activities of self-styled private militias around the country has raised many legitimate concerns. Who are these groups? What is their purpose? Do they pose a danger to the public and to law enforcement officials?

I have met with law enforcement officials in my state and listened to my constituents concerned about the militia movement. One of their concerns is the extreme rhetoric coming from some of the militias and their leaders. Norm Olson, who is scheduled to testify to you later, has said on national television just after the Oklahoma City bombing: "the federal government itself may be involved [in that bombing] as a way of inciting public outrage and anger toward other patriotic movements in America." How do you like that?"

But the militias were growing and active before Oklahoma City. Their internal publications and instructional videos are filled with the language of hate and with paranoid conspiracy theories.

This publication, distributed by the "Wolverine Brigade" of the Southern Michigan Regional Militia says: "There are four massive crematoriums in the USA now complete with gas chambers and guillotines . . . more than 130 concentration camps already set up from Florida to Alaska . . . more than two million of us are already on computer lists for 'detention' and 'liquidation.'"

The manual of the Southern Michigan Regional Militia says that the "militia exists in order to keep government in check".

People may have the right to say hateful things and believe hateful things about their government, but that doesn't make it right to say them. Extreme hate rhetoric contributes to an incendiary atmosphere in which an unstable individual will take the rhetoric seriously and light a match—or a fuse.

Some of the activities of the militias are also disturbing, especially the stockpiling of firearms and explosives, paramilitary training, conducting surveillance of, and even stalking, law enforcement officials.

Last September in Fowlerville, MI, police stopped three men for a traffic violation and because of reports they were stalking a woman. The three men wore camouflage and they said they were members of the Michigan militia on "night maneuvers". According to Police Chief Gary Krause, inspection of the car revealed notes indicating the men had engaged in "surveillance" operations against police departments, communications towers, and "new world order" people (apparently people like President Bush who support the United Nations). The car also contained a large number of loaded weapons, including an AK-47, plus armor-piercing ammo, tracer rounds, night vision goggles, gas masks, two-way radios, bayonets and knives.

The police also found "rules of engagement" which said that men were an "equal opportunity hit squad" that should treat potential targets without prejudice for "race, color or religion."

The three men arrested skipped bail. But at their appointed hearing time more than 30 camouflage-clad members of the Michigan Militia showed up at the Livingston County courtroom, saying things like "The next time you take our guns we will shoot you." Two of the three fugitives were later apprehended, one with another car full of weapons. One is still at large.

Soon after starting his job a few months ago, the chief of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in Detroit found a "support the militia" bumper sticker had been placed on his car, and he and other ATF agents there have been receiving phone calls from self-identified militia members threatening "we're coming after you and your children."

In the course of an ATF investigation in a Detroit suburb, a former militia member told agents that another militia member had said in September 1994, "I found out where the ATF office is, and I'm going to find a way to take them all out." By the way, the office he was referring to happens to contain regulatory staff, not agents.

In Grand Rapids, State police investigating a crime found a Grand Rapids ATF agent's name, address and child's school location in the possession of a suspect who was identified as a militia member.

In April, two weeks before the Oklahoma City bombing, at the Willow Run airport near Detroit, U.S. marshals and Bureau of Prisons officials were waiting for the weekly flight of the NPTS (national prisoner transportation system). They found a man on the perimeter of the area they had secured, recording vehicle descriptions and license numbers. He identified himself as a "patriot" who claimed he was on hand to make sure everything was conducted properly. He was subsequently identified from newspaper photographs as a brigade commander in the Michigan Militia. This particular flight had been rescheduled to an unusual time, and yet he knew that and had surveillance in place. We don't know why he was studying the movements of prisoner transportation vehicles, but the officers on hand were naturally concerned about the security of prisoners the plane would be delivering, and about their own safety in light of militia surveillance.

These instances are disturbing, in part because they involve surveillance or stalking of law enforcement officials, and activities which are threatening to officers and their families. These instances seem to indicate an organized effort against law enforcement officials.

Our police and federal law enforcement officials already lay their lives on the line to protect public safety. Any concerted effort to threaten them is of great concern.

In this democracy, we don't need private armies to protect us from our own government. We have the ballot box to change our government. And if our elected officials, at the local, state, or federal level violate the constitutional rights of individual citizens, we have an independent judiciary to protect those rights: Courts that have protected our rights as individuals even against presidents, the Congress, against governors, and against legislatures. Courts that told a popular president—Harry Truman, that he had to return the steel mills to the owners. Courts that told President Nixon that he could not keep the Watergate tapes from the people of the United States. Courts that tell the Congress in which we serve that laws we pass sometimes are not Constitutional and cannot be enforced.

No, we don't need those private armies to protect us from the government. We are blessed with having a free ballot and an independent judiciary.

There have been proposals in the past for a general federal statute covering paramilitary activities. The National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws (the "Brown Commission") recommended in 1971 enactment of a law governing federal paramilitary activities, and over the next decade, the Senate Judiciary Committee several times reported out legislation to revise federal criminal laws that included a similar provision. I think these examples should be studied again. Paramilitary activities by private armies arise serious public safety concerns.

So, your work here is important, and I commend you for undertaking it. Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Levin.

Although the practice is not to question Senators who appear on statements of public policy, and we have a very long list of witnesses, but I would like to ask you, Senator Levin, about two of your statements. You are one of the great protectors of constitutional rights in the Senate and in the country.

Your statement, as best I wrote it down, is that incendiary speech is not right. Would you suggest any limitation beyond what we now see, or any effort to further restrict incendiary speech? Let me ask it in the context of your testimony that you quoted one of the alleged militia men as saying, "I found out where the ATF office is and I am going to find a way to take them out." Does that speech go beyond the range of constitutionally protected speech, in your legal opinion?

Senator LEVIN. I would have to know more about the context and the present capability of carrying that out and the present inten-

tion to carry that out as to whether or not it constitutes an attempt and whether or not it is part of an actual pattern of conduct which reflects both an intent to injure or kill and a present ability to carry out that intent and some step toward carrying out that intent. I think they would all have to be present before a crime would be committed.

Senator SPECTER. Well, that is customarily a very thoughtful answer, and from what I understand you to say on the face it doesn't go so far as to be outside the ambit of free speech. You would have to know.

Well, we thank you very much for your testimony, Senator Baucus and Senator Levin. Thank you very much.

I would like to now turn to our first panel of law enforcement officers. We have three panels today. We have just heard panel one. Panel No. 2 will be the law enforcement side and panel No. 3 will be members of the militia.

I would like to call at this time Mr. Bryant, Mr. Brown, Colonel Mills, Mr. Romley, and Mr. Bohlman. Welcome, gentlemen. We will begin with Mr. Robert M. Bryant, Assistant Director, National Security Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, DC.

Mr. Bryant, we welcome you here. The full statements will all be placed in the record. We have a 5-minute light, which we regret, but time is always limited. We have a special constraint today that the majority leader has set votes at 12:15 and there are as many as nine votes, which will put us out of commission for a very long period of time.

I might say that when these hearings were scheduled originally, they had to be postponed because we voted 30 times on the specific date that they were scheduled, votes every 9 minutes. But it is our custom to limit opening statements to 5 minutes and there will be more time for elaboration during the question-and-answer session.

Mr. Bryant, before you begin, Senator Feinstein arrived after the opening statements. Senator Feinstein, would you care to make an opening statement at this time?

Senator FEINSTEIN. No, thank you, Mr. Chairman

Senator SPECTER. You may proceed, Mr. Bryant.

PANEL CONSISTING OF ROBERT M. BRYANT, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY DIVISION, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, WASHINGTON, DC; JAMES L. BROWN, DEPUTY ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR CRIMINAL ENFORCEMENT, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS, WASHINGTON, DC; FRED M. MILLS, SUPERINTENDENT, MISSOURI STATE HIGHWAY PATROL, JEFFERSON, MO; RICHARD M. ROMLEY, MARICOPA COUNTY ATTORNEY, PHOENIX, AZ; AND JOHN BOHLMAN, MUSSELSHELL COUNTY ATTORNEY, ROUNDUP, MT

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. BRYANT

Mr. BRYANT. Thank you. Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate your invitation to appear before the subcommittee today as you discuss the militia movement in the United States.

Let me assure you that the FBI is doing everything within its mandate to prevent acts of terrorism from occurring. If an incident does occur, the FBI will mount whatever lawful effort it takes to solve the crimes and apprehend the individual terrorist or terrorist group. The swift and effective investigation of terrorist acts, culminating in arrests, convictions, and incarcerations, sends a powerful message to terrorists and helps deter future acts of terrorism.

The FBI does investigate specific individuals or groups where there is a reasonable indication of criminal activity, but because these are pending investigations, I cannot discuss them at this time. These investigations are governed by the Attorney General guidelines regarding general crimes and domestic terrorism investigations.

FBI domestic counterterrorism investigations under the guidelines are limited to occasions when there is a reasonable indication that two or more persons are engaged in an enterprise for the purpose of furthering political or social goals wholly or in part through activities that involve force or violence and in violation of the criminal laws of the United States. A consideration the guidelines prescribe in determining whether an investigation is warranted is the danger to privacy and free expression posed by an investigation.

In addition, we investigate individuals under the general crimes portion of the guidelines. Full investigations under these provisions may be initiated when facts or circumstances reasonably indicate that a Federal crime has been, is being, or will be committed. For investigations of groups under the domestic security provisions and of individuals under the general crimes provisions, there must be an objective, factual basis regarding criminal activity. More limited inquiries may be conducted when information is received which, although short of a reasonable indication of criminal activities, requires some further scrutiny.

One recent example of the type of investigation we do led to the arrests and convictions of two men from Minnesota, Duane Baker and Leroy Wheeler, who claimed to be members of a tax protest group called the Patriots Council. Baker and Wheeler manufactured a quantity of ricin, a highly toxic derivative of the castor bean. They planned to use ricin to kill a police officer who had served eviction papers on one of the group's members. Following their arrest on August 4, 1994, they were convicted of violations of the Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorist Act of 1989.

A second example involved individuals linked to a militia group who learned that Russian-made tanks were located at a local military base. Apparently fearing that these tanks were the prelude to a Russian-led invasion of the United States by the United Nations, some individuals took it upon themselves to plan to destroy these tanks. In fact, the tanks were captured by the United States Army from the Iraqi during Desert Storm and are being used for training our own soldiers, as well as for research and development to improve United States tanks and combat tactics. These misguided individuals were foiled before any damage could be done.

Combating terrorism is a difficult and complex endeavor. Through many years of experience and many different aspects of our responsibility, the FBI has learned that cooperation with other members of the law enforcement community and the support of the

American public are absolutely essential for the FBI to be effective in countering terrorism.

Thank you for this opportunity, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Bryant, for concluding even before the red light.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bryant follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. BRYANT

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate your invitation to appear before the subcommittee today as you discuss the militia movement in the United States. This offers me, on behalf of the FBI, the opportunity to clarify misunderstandings about the nature of the FBI's investigative jurisdiction as it may relate to militias or militia members.

Let me assure you that the FBI is doing everything within its mandate to prevent acts of terrorism from occurring. If an incident does occur, the FBI will mount whatever lawful effort it takes to solve the crime and apprehend the individual terrorists or terrorist group. The swift and effective investigation of terrorist acts, culminating in arrests, convictions, and incarcerations, sends a powerful message to terrorists and helps deter future acts of terrorism.

The FBI does investigate specific individuals or groups where there is a reasonable indication of criminal activity, but because these are pending investigations I cannot discuss them. These investigations are governed by the Attorney General guidelines regarding general crimes, racketeering enterprises, and domestic security/terrorism investigations.

FBI domestic counterterrorism investigations under the guidelines are limited to occasions when there is a reasonable indication "that two or more persons are engaged in an enterprise for the purpose of furthering political or social goals wholly or in part through activities that involve force or violence and a violation of the criminal laws of the United States." A consideration the guidelines prescribe in determining whether an investigation is warranted is the danger to privacy and free expression posed by an investigation.

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One recent example of the type of investigation we do conduct led to the arrests and convictions of two men from Minnesota: Duane Baker and Leroy Wheeler, who claimed to be members of a tax protest group called the Patriots Council. Baker and Wheeler manufactured a quantity of ricin, a highly toxic derivative of the castor bean. They planned to use the ricin to kill a police officer who had served eviction papers on one of the group's members. Following their arrests on August 4, 1994, they were convicted of violations of the Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorist Act of 1989.

A second example involved individuals linked to a militia group who learned that Russian-made tanks were located at a local military base. Apparently fearing that these tanks were the prelude to a Russian-led invasion of the United States by the United Nations, some individuals took it upon themselves to plan to destroy these tanks. In fact, the tanks were captured by the United States Army from the Iraqis during Desert Storm and are being used for training our own soldiers, as well as for research and development to improve United States tanks and combat tactics. These misguided individuals were foiled before any damage could be done.

Finally, in the mid 1980's, some groups, which could now be viewed as paramilitary in nature, engaged in a wide range of criminal activity, including bank robberies, counterfeiting, seditious conspiracy, homicide, bombings, threats to Federal authorities including judges, and illegal possession and use of weapons and explosives. These are the types of activities that will receive the full investigative attention of the FBI. Organizations that are peaceful and do not plan to violate the laws of the United States are of no investigative interest to the FBI.

As a result of a 1982 Presidential directive, the Department of Justice delegated lead agency responsibility for combatting terrorism, within the United States to the FBI. In this role, when a terrorist incident has occurred, the FBI functions as the

on-scene crisis manager for the U.S. Government and is responsible for the direction and coordination of all law enforcement efforts to resolve the situation. Additionally, the FBI is responsible for the collection of intelligence to identify and prevent terrorist acts before they occur, but only within the parameters of the Attorney General guidelines.

Combatting terrorism is a difficult and complex endeavor. Through many years of experience in many different aspects of our responsibilities, the FBI has learned that cooperation with other members of the law enforcement community and the support of the American public are essential for the FBI to be effective in countering terrorism.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you this morning.

Senator SPECTER. We now turn to Mr. James Brown, Deputy Associate Director for Criminal Enforcement, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. You may proceed, Mr. Brown.

STATEMENT OF JAMES L. BROWN

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity, also, to discuss with you what ATF has learned about some of the militia groups in the United States.

Since the tragic bombing in Oklahoma City on April 19, much of the American public has learned for the first time through the media about the militia movement. Because of ATF's Federal enforcement responsibility, which encompasses violations related to firearms, explosives, and arson, we have been involved with individuals associated with similar violent antigovernment groups since the 1970's.

Today, I would like to give you some examples of the types of allegations that have been found in some of the militia propaganda throughout this country. These are not necessarily representative of the views of all militia members, however. Certainly, there are members of militia groups who are upstanding, law-abiding citizens.

As you are aware, the incident in Oklahoma City has generated a great deal of speculation in the media about militia groups and violent antigovernment views. While we don't investigate groups based on their beliefs, ATF does pursue investigations on individual suspects when there is evidence that they are violating the Federal laws under ATF's jurisdiction. Through these investigations, we have been able to gain considerable insight into some militias and their ideologies.

As a result of criminal investigations conducted by ATF, along with information received from other law enforcement agencies, and open-source documents and publications distributed by militias, ATF estimates that militias exist in approximately 40 States. On May 11, 1995, a Gannett News Service article quoting the Center for Democratic Renewal, a private Atlanta group that monitors militias, reported that there are up to 100,000 militia members in at least 30 States. Other news sources quoting militia leaders report their actual membership to be in the millions.

Accurate estimates reflecting the total number of militias, the number of specific States involved, and the total militia membership nationwide are not available, since ATF and other Federal law enforcement agencies do not collect such intelligence, per se, on militia groups.

During the past decade, several national and global events have provided the environment for the formation of militias. Militias include members with a wide spectrum of views ranging from active opposition to the firearms laws to ideas that are extreme, violent, and paranoid. Most are primarily concerned with the firearms laws. However, some militias believe they are the people's response to a wide range of issues that include the supposed takeover of the United States by the United Nations.

One theory promoted by some of today's militia members is that the democratic United States will be replaced by the new world order. A national militia speaker promotes the notion that the illuminati, a group of national and international government and military officials, will round up all Christian patriots, confiscate their guns, and haul them off in black helicopters to concentration camps. A 1994 news article quotes this spokesman as saying that urban street gangs would be part of the home invasion of the patriots. Also included in this invasion force would be foreign mercenaries. The operation would supposedly be controlled by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, along with ATF and other Federal enforcement agencies.

Federal authorities are likened to Nazis or are called baby killers by some militias. Hateful descriptions of the President and the Attorney General of the United States found in some militia-related letters and literature are so vial they can't be repeated here today. The most recent propaganda circulating among some militia supporters is that the President ordered the Oklahoma City bombing.

ATF has successfully investigated and charged several members of the present-day militia movement with violations of the Federal firearms and explosives laws. I want to emphasize again that ATF does not initiate investigations on militias based on their beliefs, but we do pursue investigation on individual suspects based on violations or intended violations of the law.

In conclusion, the men and women of ATF investigate and apprehend some of the most violent criminals in America on a daily basis. During our extensive planning for the execution of search and arrest warrants, we anticipate and expect violators to be armed with firearms or have in their possession a bomb as the primary element of proof of the violations that we enforce.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Brown, would you summarize the balance of your statement because the red light is on?

Mr. BROWN. I am about through, sir.

Unfortunately and sadly, responsibility of apprehending the Nation's most violent criminals has taken its toll on our agency, resulting in the death of 183 special agents in the line of duty. I will assure you, Mr. Chairman, that it is ATF's goal to promote our goal in providing a safe and more secure America.

I would be happy to answer any questions you have concerning our involvement in these investigations.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Brown.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Brown follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES L. BROWN

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you what ATF has learned about some of the militia groups in the United States. Since the tragic bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah

Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, much of the American public has learned for the first time through the media about the militia movement.

ATF has a long history of working to prevent violence associated with firearms and explosives violations. ATF's unique jurisdiction over the Federal firearms laws allows us to focus on armed career criminals and drug traffickers, and international firearms traffickers. Our expertise in explosives led to the discovery of a key piece of evidence in the World Trade Center bombing, ultimately bringing the perpetrators to justice.

Paramilitary terrorist activity within the United States is not a new phenomenon. Its origins in the second half of this century date back to 1960, with the establishment of the Minutemen Organization. The organization, founded and coordinated by Robert Depugh, was reportedly intended to resist the spread of communism in the United States by the use of guerrilla tactics. ATF conducted over 60 investigations nationwide of members of the Minutemen from the late 1960's to the early 1980's.

From 1976 to the mid-1980's, ATF conducted 43 investigations of members and associates of the Posse Comitatus, a group opposed to government "intrusion." On February 13, 1983, Gordon Kahl, a member of the Posse Comitatus in Medina, North Dakota, succeeded in bringing the group to national notoriety. On that date, Kahl and others engaged in an armed confrontation with Federal and local law enforcement officers, resulting in the death of two U.S. marshals and the wounding of three other Federal, county and local enforcement officers. Before he was finally apprehended, Kahl shot and killed the sheriff of Lawrence County, Arkansas. The ideology of the Posse Comitatus is very similar to that of many of today's militias.

At this point, I'd like to give you some examples of the types of allegations that have been found in some of the militia propaganda in this country. These are not necessarily representative of the views of all militia members, however. Certainly there are members of militia groups who are upstanding, law-abiding citizens.

As a result of criminal investigations conducted by ATF, along with information received from other law enforcement agencies, open source documents, and publications distributed by militias, ATF estimates militias exist in approximately 40 states.

A May 11, 1995 Gannett News Service article quoting the Center for Democratic Renewal, a private Atlanta group that monitors militias, reports that there are up to 100,000 militia members in at least 30 states.

Accurate estimates reflecting the total number of militias, the number and specific states involved, and the total militia membership nationwide are not available.

As you are aware, the incident in Oklahoma City has generated much speculation in the media about militia groups and antigovernment views. While we do not investigate groups based on their beliefs, we do pursue investigations on individual suspects based on evidence of violations of the law. Through these investigations we have gained some insight into militias.

During the past decade, several national and global events provided the environment for the formation of militias. Militias include members with a spectrum of views. They range from ideas which are extreme, violent and paranoid to active opposition to the firearms laws. Some militias believe that they are the "people's response" to a wide range of issues that include the supposed takeover of the United States by the United Nations. Most are primarily concerned about firearms laws.

In April 1994, a militia promoter called for an armed march on Washington, DC, to arrest members of Congress unless they complied with a list of demands including the repeal of gun control legislation. Although the march was later canceled, this proposed march fostered the concept of militias nationwide.

One theory promoted by some of today's militia members is that the democratic United States will be replaced by the "new world order." A national militia speaker furthers the notion that the "illuminati" (a group of national and international government and military officials) will round up all "Christian patriots," confiscate their guns, and haul them off in black helicopters to concentration camps. A 1994 news article quotes this spokesperson as saying that urban street gangs would be part of the home invasion of the "patriots." Also included in this invasion force would be foreign mercenaries, including Nepalese Gurkhas and Royal Hong Kong Police. The Operation would supposedly be controlled by the Federal Emergency Management Agency; a multijurisdictional task force comprised of the "Fincen police," ATF, and the FBI; and other Federal enforcement agencies.

Militias, apparently forming independently across the United States, are able to share many of the same philosophies and agendas, due to an efficient networking system. This system utilizes militia-oriented publications, computer bulletin board services, commercial radio stations, videos, public forums, and short-wave radio to spread their rhetoric.

Federal authorities are likened to Nazis and are called "baby killers" by some militia advocates. Hateful descriptions of the President and the Attorney General of the United States, found in some militia-related letters and literature, are so vile that they cannot be repeated here. The most recent propaganda circulating among some militia supporters is that the President ordered the Oklahoma City bombing.

Federal and local enforcement personnel have been threatened, harassed, assaulted, and shot. A white supremacist with militia leanings shot and wounded a Missouri State trooper in September 1994. In November 1994, an adherent of a militia philosophy shot Nashville Metro police officers when they stopped him on suspicion of drunken driving.

ATF has successfully investigated and charged several members of the present-day militia movement with violations of Federal firearms and explosives laws. I want to emphasize that we do not investigate these people based on their beliefs; we pursue investigations on individual suspects based on violations or intended violations of the law. I would like to highlight a couple of those investigations:

American Patriots. On March 24, 1994, the Las Vegas Metro police responded to a report of shots being fired on a Las Vegas street. The officers then encountered two armed suspects with a MAK-90 semiautomatic rifle and numerous handgrenades. ATF's assistance was requested, and a Federal search warrant was executed at the suspects' residences, yielding numerous handgrenades, pipe bombs, and other explosives, along with drugs, illegal firearms, and thousands of rounds of ammunition. Upon questioning, the suspects claimed membership with the American Patriots and affiliation with the ARM (presumably Aryan Resistance Movement). The suspects stated that war had been declared against the police. They were hostile toward the ATF agents and made several references to Waco. Both have been convicted of possession of unregistered machineguns.

American Citizen Alliance and the Liberty Group. While purchasing 50 ammunition magazines from a firearms dealer in Maitland, Florida, a suspect made references to militia activity while in the presence of a police detective. He spoke about a plan in place to kill Federal judges, members of Congress, and special agents. He also advised that he had 60 Ruger rifles. An inquiry into the suspect's background revealed his status as a convicted felon, and he was arrested by ATF on October 15, 1994. At the time of his arrest, he had a Ruger rifle with a silencer. The suspect has five associates, also members of the American Citizen Alliance, who are defendants in Federal cases as the result of their role in placing unlawful liens against the properties of Federal District Court judges. The original suspect pled guilty to possession of an unregistered machinegun and was sentenced on April 19, 1995.

ATF has joined with Department of Justice agencies (FBI and DEA) and other Treasury agencies in the fight against violent crime. ATF has been at the forefront of that battle due to our unique position of being vested with the enforcement of the Federal firearms and explosives laws and the regulation of those industries.

ATF's expertise in explosives enforcement has been well tested throughout the last 25 years. ATF personnel, through years of experience and advanced training, have developed unparalleled proficiency in postblast analysis and the logistics involved with investigating postblast crime scenes of any size. This experience is recognized and highly regarded by investigators within the enforcement community.

To strengthen its investigative capacity, ATF is researching the effects of large-scale vehicle bombs. Through this research, enforcement will derive much-needed information relative to the explosives signature, blast effect, debris distance, and residue retrieval. The analysis of such characteristics and the development of computer modeling of such explosions will have a significant impact on the development of investigative leads in connection with large and complex bombings such as the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City.

In conclusion, the men and women of ATF investigate and apprehend some of the most violent criminals in America on a daily basis. During our extensive planning for the execution of search and arrest warrants, we anticipate—and expect—violators to be armed with firearms or to have in their possession destructive devices. In fact, the possession or use of a firearm or bomb is the primary element of proof for many of the statutes we enforce. Unfortunately, and sadly, the responsibility of apprehending the nation's most violent criminals has taken its toll on our agency, resulting in the deaths of 183 special agents in the line of duty.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for allowing me to speak here today on behalf of ATF. We commend your leadership and efforts to pursue initiatives that will make the American society safer and more secure. I would also like to assure you that ATF will continue to actively investigate all crimes, such as those that I have mentioned, that involve violations of the Federal firearms, explosives, and arson laws. ATF is committed to assisting state and local

law enforcement in its continuing fight against crime and violence. Thank you for your time. I would be happy to answer any questions.

Senator SPECTER. We now turn to Col. Fred Mills, superintendent of the Missouri State Highway Patrol. Welcome, Colonel Mills, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF FRED M. MILLS

Mr. MILLS. Thank you, sir. I would like to tell you how my morning began this morning. I got into a cab—and I am a country boy from the Midwest and got into the cab and I told the cab driver where I wanted to go and he looked at me rather nervously and said, this is my first day on the job, you will have to tell me how to get there. [Laughter.]

So, between the two of us, we got the map out and we found the way here. So, again, as a country boy from the Midwest, I appreciate the opportunity to be here today and I really appreciate this committee's—

Senator SPECTER. Was he at all apprehensive about your impressive uniform?

Mr. MILLS. He wasn't quite sure what it was all about.

Senator SPECTER. Start the time clock again for Colonel Mills.

Mr. MILLS. Hate groups and extremist groups have always been a part of Missouri's history as far back as the Civil War, in which Missouri citizens were torn between the slavery issues. Factions of the Ku Klux Klan have existed since that time and, sad to say, they continue to attract members even today. Other extremist groups have surfaced in Missouri over the past century, only to disappear and resurface again under a different disguise and different philosophical ideas.

The history of extremism in Missouri comes from a discontent within our society, for a variety of reasons. They spawn new groups, and these groups subside, but they seem to always come back. Groups such as the Christian Patriot Defense League [CPDL], an ultra-right-wing movement, have been visible in the Midwest since the 1950's. The CPDL established a paramilitary training camp on a farm near Licking, MO, in 1980 and they began to host what they called freedom festivals. Well, these freedom festivals drew Christian identity organization movement members, the KKK, the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord [CSA], and also the Posse Comitatus. They came there and began training and the guise of their training was to protect their freedom.

In 1984, Missouri passed an antiparamilitary law which prohibited this kind of activity when they expound upon disruption because of the training that they were going to implement. The impact of extremism in Missouri was first felt by the highway patrol in 1985 when Trooper Jimmie Linegar was shot and killed by a member of the Aryan Nation, a white supremacy group.

This shooting led to the highway patrol, in conjunction with Federal law enforcement agencies, to raid a training compound on the Missouri-Arkansas border of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, a paramilitary survivalist group who said they were Christian patriots. The violence associated with this shooting and the firepower that was confiscated from that camp surprised many in law enforcement, including law enforcement agencies. This seem-

ingly singular event, however, merely highlighted an evolving trend toward extremism not only in Missouri, but across this Nation as well.

The 1987 shooting of Trooper Russell Harper again demonstrated the power of hate espoused by extremist groups. While the man who shot Trooper Harper was not directly tied to any particular hate group, he did espouse extremist and hate group philosophies and was a collector of Aryan Nation literature and paraphernalia. When we raided his home in Arkansas, we also found a wide variety of weapons, most of which were illegal.

Again, in July 1992, we formed an organized crime unit within the highway patrol's Division of Drug and Crime Control. One of the unit's tasks was to gather information about extremist and hate groups in Missouri, as well as street gangs, outlaw motorcycle gangs, and organized crime. Sadly, the focus of this group has been on three extremist groups here lately that we have seen a real resurgence in, and that is, again, the KKK, the Christian identity religious movement, and militias.

In 1994, the Missouri State Highway Patrol was struck again by an extremist group. Cpl. Bobbie Harper was shot and seriously wounded by a so-called patriot from the Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ, a Christian identity group, in retaliation for the arrest of one of its leaders. Harper was forced to retire and still suffers for those injuries. Meanwhile, this patriot, from what we are able to tell from intelligence information, is being protected by a network of extremist groups that run across this country.

The escalating level of violence in 1994 in Missouri, as well as across this Nation, was personally felt by the members of the highway patrol when we had six officer-involved shootings just in 1994. Luckily, none of our officers were fatally wounded. Missouri, however, did have six law enforcement officers killed in 1994, and it ranked us sixth in the Nation for the number of officers killed in the line of duty. While none of these incidents may be directly related to extremist movements in Missouri, they do represent a growing tendency toward violence in this country.

Each day, Missouri State Highway Patrol road officers come in contact with a variety of people traveling on Missouri highways. While the officers are trained to conduct courteous and friendly service to all citizens, they are taught that each traffic stop, whether for a traffic violation or services rendered, must be treated as if it could develop into a critical incident.

Senator SPECTER. Colonel Mills, will you summarize as promptly as you can?

Mr. MILLS. I sure will.

Senator SPECTER. Your full statement will be in the record.

Mr. MILLS. In closing, just let me say this country obviously has some changes, and some areas of the community have really lost that sense of pride and caring. Well, I can tell you that all is not lost. We have a majority of citizens throughout this country who support law enforcement. They care about what we do. They care about the officers, Bobbie Harper and Jimmie Linegar. We saw the community pull together when Bobbie Harper was killed. We saw the Nation pull together in mourning on the tragedy that occurred

in Oklahoma City, and I can tell you we in Missouri are blessed to have community support.

We have a Governor like Governor Carnahan who has joined us on the front lines in the battle to remove the cancer of crime that plagues our communities. We need Congress to demonstrate ongoing courage and commitment to support the officers that are out there. This country is still a great place to live, work, and raise a family, and we want to make sure it stays that way.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Colonel Mills.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mills follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FRED M. MILLS

Hate groups and extremism always have been a part of Missouri's history as far back as before the Civil War, in which Missouri's citizens were torn by the slavery issue. Factions of the Ku Klux Klan have existed in Missouri since that time, and continue to attract members even today. Other extremist groups have surfaced in Missouri over the past century only to disappear and then resurface again, or re-emerge under a different name with a slightly different philosophy. This has been the history of extremism in Missouri. Discontent within society over a variety of issues has spawned new groups, only to see those groups subside as the issues were resolved.

Groups, such as the Christian Patriot Defense League, an ultra right-wing movement, have been visible in the Midwest since the 1950s. The CPDL settled into a paramilitary training camp on a farm near Licking, MO, in 1980 and began hosting "Freedom Festivals," which drew members of various Christian Identity organizations, the KKK, CSA, and Posse Comitatus to train to defend themselves and their freedoms. In 1984 Missouri passed an antiparamilitary law, which prohibited this kind of activity, resulting in the CPDL being limited only to martial art-type training (574.070 RSMo.).

The impact of extremism in Missouri was first felt by the Missouri State Highway Patrol in 1985, when Tpr. Jimmie Linegar was shot and killed by a member of the Aryan Nations, a white supremacist group. This incident lead the Highway Patrol, in conjunction with federal and local law enforcement agencies, to raid a training compound on the Missouri-Arkansas border for the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, a paramilitary survivalist group of "Christian Patriots." The violence associated with the shooting, and firepower confiscated from the camp, surprised many Missourians and some law enforcement agencies. This seemingly singular event, however, merely highlighted an evolving trend toward extremism, not only in Missouri but across the nation, as well.

The 1987 shooting of Tpr. Russell Harper, again, demonstrated the power of hate espoused by extremist groups. While the man who shot Tpr. Harper was not directly tied to any particular hate group, he did espouse white supremacist and hate group philosophies, as well as collect Aryan Nation literature and paraphernalia. When officers raided his farm in Ozark County, located near the former CSA compound, they seized a variety of weapons, many of which were illegal.

In July 1992 the Missouri State Highway Patrol formed its organized Crime Unit within its Division of Drug and Crime Control. One of the Unit's tasks was to gather information about extremist and hate groups in Missouri, as well as street gangs, outlaw motorcycle gangs, and organized crime. The Unit has focused on three extremist groups: the KKK, Christian Identity religious movements, and militias.

Again, in September 1994, a Missouri State Highway Patrol officer was struck at by an extremist group. Cpl. Bobbie Harper was shot and seriously injured by a "patriot" for the "Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ," a Christian Identity religious movement, in retaliation for the arrest of one of its principals. Harper was forced to retire from the Highway Patrol due to his injuries and continues to have health problems associated with them. Meanwhile, the "patriot" has disappeared probably protected by the network of extremist groups that stretch across the country.

The escalating level of violence in 1994, in Missouri as well as across the nation, was felt personally by many members of the Missouri State Highway Patrol. The Patrol recorded six officer-involved shootings in 1994. Luckily, none were fatal for the Patrol officers involved. Missouri, however, did have six law enforcement officers killed in 1994, ranking it sixth in the nation for number of officers killed. While none of these incidents were directly related to extremist movements in Missouri, they do represent a growing tendency toward violence.

Each day Missouri State Highway Patrol road officers come into contact with a variety of people traveling on Missouri's highways. While the officers are trained to provide courteous and friendly service to all citizens, they also are taught to treat each traffic stop, whether for a traffic violation or service rendered, as if it could develop into a critical incident. Assaults on officers, such as those that lead to the deaths of Tprs. Jimmie Linegar and Russell Harper, are becoming all too prevalent in today's society.

Extremism has become more evident in Missouri in the past decade, and many of the militias gaining national and local media attention were begun by people with extremist views. To say that all militia members are extremists, however, is overstating today's movement. Many people who attend militia meetings would be considered law-abiding, God-fearing citizens—farmers, entrepreneurs, former military personnel, and some who simply are curious as to what these groups are about.

Most of Missouri's "militias or extremist groups" have not evolved much past the stage where they organize into formal groups to discuss their concern and displeasure with the current state of government and society, and to practice skills believed to be needed to protect themselves. Our concern and fear is focused on those whose motives and objectives are to spread the cancer of hatred and criminal conduct, who will utilize these groups as a vehicle for their efforts or as a cover for their activities. We are seeing these seeds of discontent being planted, and the rhetoric is becoming more and more violent and distrusting of all government.

The Highway Patrol continues to collect information about extremist groups in Missouri. Due to a shortage of manpower and money, however, the Patrol's Organized Crime Unit is staffed by only one officer. Law enforcement officers across the country need the support of their legislators and Congress—through supportive legislation and funds—to help turn the tide of extremism across the country and ensure the safety of its citizens.

Missouri has long been considered a good place to work, raise a family, and retire. Only recently has its peaceful demeanor been disrupted by the acts of violence of extremist groups. While we take these acts very seriously, the Patrol does not want to infringe on the rights of Missouri citizens to gather to discuss their perceptions of problems within our society and government. When violence does erupt threatening Missouri citizens and the state, however, the patrol stands ready to quickly and effectively protect those we are sworn to serve.

In closing, let me say while things in this country have obviously changed and some areas of our communities may have lost that sense of pride and caring, all is not lost. We have a majority of citizens, although sometimes quiet, that truly care about and support law enforcement. We saw it when Cpl. Harper was the victim of a cowardly assault. We also saw our nation pull together in mourning for the tragedy that occurred in Oklahoma City.

We in Missouri are blessed with a Governor, Mel Carnahan, who is an outspoken supporter of law enforcement and who has joined in the battle to remove the cancer of crime from our communities. We need Congress to demonstrate on-going courage and the commitment to support the officers who strive to keep American citizens safe and our country the special place it is to live, work, and raise our families.

Missouri Extremist Activity

The topography of the state of Missouri used to be a reliable guide to the location of settlements of extremist groups. The rugged Ozark Mountains of southwest Missouri in particular lent themselves to attract and shelter those individuals whose political and social stance was far to the right of mainstream America. This is no longer the case. We have documented in the past three years, a rapid rise in extremist group membership in all areas of our state — from the Glacial Plains of northeast Missouri to our mountains in the southwest, to the major metropolitan areas of St. Louis and Kansas City, and even to the Mississippi lowlands of the boot heel.

We are concerned not with the fact that groups lean to the left or the right, but that extremism itself has become so popular and with it the polarization of segments of society that eventually may lead to more violence. This is a legitimate law enforcement concern.

The focus of our attention is on three groups: The Ku Klux Klan, the Identity movement, and armed civilian Militias.

The KKK is highly factionalized with two major Klans having members in Missouri. They are:

- The White Knights of the KKK
- The Federation of Klans

The White Knights of the KKK are based in Kansas City, MO, with Klaverns (units) in northwest, south central, and mid-Missouri. They also have membership in Kentucky, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania. This is a heavily armed group that openly urges the extermination of Jews, blacks, and "whiggers" (white niggers). It is closely affiliated with the Skinhead movement, and we feel it has possible ties to the IRA through a Northern Ireland Prisoner Relief Organization that has provided speakers and literature for their rallies.

The Federation of Klans has drawn off the most militant members of the Knights of the KKK. This new organization, based in Chicago, IL, has Missouri membership sympathetic to the White Knights of the KKK, Skinheads, Aryan Nations, and major Identity Churches.

Identity religious doctrine is the "tie that binds" most White Supremacist groups. Briefly, Identity doctrine holds that the white man is the true descendant of the lost tribes of Israel; Jews are children of the devil, the product of that illicit union of Eve and Satan; and non-whites are a genetic mistake made by God before perfecting the white man — they are called "mud people." Basic to Identity beliefs are three facts:

- whites are inherently superior,
- whites will inherit the true Israel (Promised Land), which is the continental United States,
- whites must and will survive an inevitable nationwide race war in order to claim their inheritance.

Toward this end, Identity followers train, stock pile food and weapons, and attack the Federal Government at any opportunity.

Militias made their appearance in mid-1994 in four southwest Missouri counties. This movement has spread rapidly to cover 40 of Missouri's 114 counties. I would characterize the Militia as a group of paramilitary constitutionalists who believe that our government is part of a worldwide United Nations conspiracy to disarm the American people. Although a great

majority of current Militia members are hard working, honest Americans, this movement has the real potential to evolve into an organization with a much more violent agenda. We see Militias progressing through the following stages:

Stage I: The calling of "Concerned Citizens" meetings.

Stage II: Formation of an official militia and the election of an "Interim Commander."

Stage III: A training phase consisting of firearms, food storage, wilder ness survival, etc...

Stage IV: An intelligence gathering stage in which they become more paranoid of law enforcement and the Federal Government.

Stage V: Interference in legitimate law enforcement activities such as arrests and search warrant service.

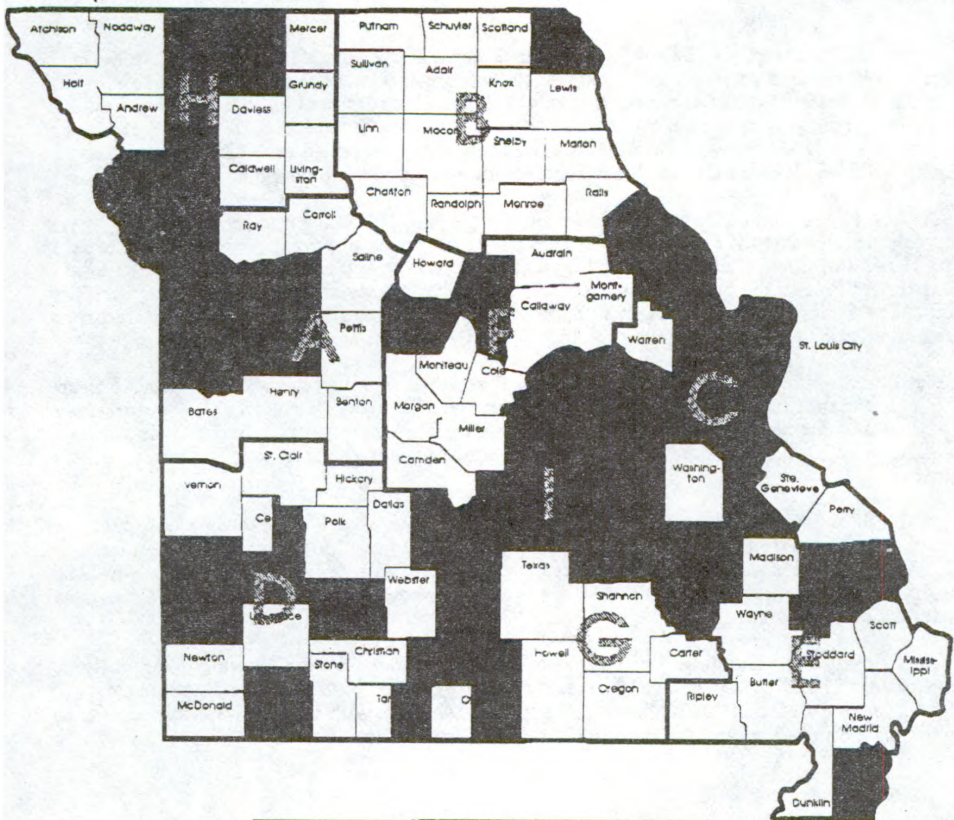
Stage VI: Militia moves underground due to law enforcement pressure and/or overreaction.

Missouri currently is in Stage III with one group already performing security/intelligence functions.

The Oklahoma City bombing caused an initial loss of Militia membership of about 10 percent. In the past few weeks, fears of a federal government overreaction has brought more dissatisfied Americans to their ranks. We believe the KKK will stagnate to the point of insignificance due to poor leadership and lack of public support. Most Klansmen and Identity followers, however, see Militias as an ideal vehicle through which they can accomplish their goals, realize more broad public support, and become part of an armed militant brotherhood with the federal government as the common enemy.

Extremist Activity in Missouri

2nd Quarter 1995



- Militia Activity
- KKK Activity
- Identity Activity

* Militia Activity may change weekly, this map indicates active militias as of 5-24-95.

Fatal Shooting of Tpr. Jimmie E. Linegar

Summary

Tpr. Jimmie E. Linegar, 31, was shot and killed while conducting a spot check near the Intersection of U.S. 65 and MO 86 April 15, 1985. He was unaware the man stopped for a license check had just been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for involvement in a Neo-Nazi group accused of murder.

Missouri State Highway Patrol Tprs. Jimmie Linegar and Allen D. Hines, both of Troop D, Springfield, set up a routine spot check near the junction of U.S. 65 and MO 86 in Taney County April 15, 1985. After checking several vehicles for equipment and license violations, Tpr. Linegar stopped a van bearing Nevada license. The driver produced an Oregon driver's license issued to Matthew Mark Samuels. The license check revealed an NCIC "hit" on David C. Tate with an alias of Matthew Mark Samuels for a possession of weapons.

As Tpr. Hines walked up the passenger side of the van, Tpr. Linegar approached the driver's side. Suddenly, Tpr. Hines heard a burst of automatic weapon fire. Tate first shot at Tpr. Hines and then exited the van and fired several shots at Tpr. Linegar, striking him a total of 11 times. Five of the bullets were absorbed by Linegar's body armor; the rest penetrated his body. Tpr. Hines also was struck by three rounds, causing superficial wounds. Hines returned fire and struck Tate in the legs, who ran into a heavily wooded area east of U.S. 65.

Both Patrol officers were taken to a local hospital, where Tpr. Linegar was pronounced dead. A five-day manhunt began involving the Missouri State Highway Patrol, local law enforcement agencies, and the National Guard, called out by Gov. John Ashcroft April 17. Tate was apprehended April 20, 1985, after being spotted at the edge of a wooded area near Forsyth, MO, by a citizen.

With FBI assistance, it was determined that David C. Tate, alias Matthew Mark Samuels, was a member of The Aryan Nations, a white supremacist group headquartered in Hayden Lake, ID. He also was associated with the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA), a Neo-Nazi group located near Pontiac, MO. Tate, along with several other subjects had been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury April 12, 1985, in Seattle, WA, for a murder in Idaho in 1984.

At the time of the shooting, Tate's van contained 12 weapons, several of which were fully automatic; 45 hand grenades; dynamite; and other explosives. At the time of Tate's arrest, officers located a Mac-11, .380 caliber, fully automatic weapon with silencer, determined later to be the weapon used during the shooting of the two Patrol officers.

Fatal Shooting of Tpr. Russell W. Harper

Summary

Tpr. Russell W. Harper, 45, was shot and killed Feb. 8, 1987, after he pulled over a pickup truck east of U.S. 65 on U.S. 60 near Springfield, MO, for a traffic violation. Before Harper could stop his Patrol car off the roadway, a man emerged from the truck and fired several rounds from an automatic weapon through the Patrol car's windshield.

Feb. 8, 1987, Tpr. Russell W. Harper, Troop D, Springfield, was working stationary radar on U.S. 60 east of Springfield, MO, when he was passed at a excessive rate of speed by a pickup truck. Harper began pursuit of the vehicle following it off of U.S. 60 onto a Greene County farm road. Tpr. Harper stopped his Patrol car approximately 25 feet behind the truck. As the Patrol car was coming to a stop, the driver of the pickup stepped out and opened fire at Tpr. Harper's Patrol car with a fully automatic rifle. The Patrol car was hit at least 29 times by the gun fire. Two of the rounds struck Tpr. Harper, one in the forehead, fatally wounding him.

Witnesses provided Patrol officers with a description of the truck and the driver, and Highway Patrol and local law enforcement officers set up roadblocks and began a search of the area. Upon further investigation Glen Paul Sweet was identified as a suspect. Sweet had recently purchased a vehicle matching the truck's description and was wanted on felony drug violations and weapons charges. Officers visited a residence where Sweet was supposed to be staying. While searching the area, officers located an H & K, Model 93, .223 caliber rifle hidden in the trunk of an abandoned vehicle; they also located .223 ammunition in the trunk.

After obtaining a search warrant, Patrol officers found Glen Paul Sweet hiding in the attic of the residence and arrested him without incident. Officers discovered the pickup truck in a garage next door. The truck was being disassembled and painted.

While officers could find no direct affiliation between Sweet and extremist or hate groups, they did consider Sweet a "wannabe." He was a cross between an outlaw motorcyclist and a white supremacist. He wore T-shirts depicting "white power" and had a collection of Aryan Nation T-shirts, hats, and literature. At Sweet's house in Ozark County, officers confiscated 20-25 assault weapons, boxes of ammunition, weapons literature, survivalist books, and targets. One target had the Christian County, MO Sheriff's picture and name on it and had been used for target practice.

Shooting of Cpl. Bobbie J. Harper

Summary

A sniper's bullet struck and nearly killed Cpl. Bobbie J. Harper, 54, as he stood in the kitchen of his home Sept. 16, 1994. It was later determined that the shooting was probably in retaliation for the arrest of Robert Joos, Jr. The suspect believed to have shot Cpl. Harper, Timothy Thomas Coombs, fled the state and is currently wanted on both state and federal charges.

Sept. 16, 1994, Cpl. Bobbie J. Harper, Troop D, Springfield, was shot with a high-powered rifle while he was standing in the kitchen of his rural home. The bullet struck Harper in the chest and caused extensive internal damage. He was rushed to a local hospital and underwent emergency surgery.

Highway Patrol and local law enforcement officers responded to the scene, set up road-blocks, and began a search of the area. A shell casing (7.62 x 39) was found approximately 250 feet northeast of the kitchen window. Over the next two days, the investigation was plagued by several false leads.

Previously in June 1994, Cpl. Harper and three other Patrol officers had arrested Robert N. Joos, Jr., on a warrant for simulating legal process. Joos resisted arrest and was subsequently charged with resisting arrest and unlawful use of a weapon. At the time of Joos' arrest, his van contained a concealed and loaded .32 revolver; several black ski masks also were found in the vehicle along with .45 caliber magazines and survival gear.

Officers went to Joos' property to interview his girlfriend about a possible connection between the arrest and the shooting. As the officers approached the farm, they were stopped by Timothy T. Coombs, who at the time gave an alias James Wilson, armed with a high-powered rifle with a scope. Coombs told officers he recently had flown from North or South Carolina to help with a legal maneuver for Joos. Coombs claimed he was a member of the Patriots and was an "ambassador" for the "Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ."

Highway Patrol officers requested intelligence information from Arkansas on "James Wilson." A neighbor of "Wilson" reported Wilson had been shooting a high-powered rifle a week prior to the shooting of Cpl. Harper and had shot one of the neighbor's horses. Officers retrieved the bullet from the horse, and upon forensic testing, discovered a strong probability it had been fired from the same weapon used in the Harper shooting. A search warrant led to the discovery of three 7.62 x 39 spent shell casings from the Wilson farm that matched perfectly with the spent shell discovered behind the Harper residence. A search warrant executed on the Joos property Sept. 22, led to the seizure of 20 guns, many of which were sawed-off shotguns; an 8 mm machine gun; and 45 sticks of dynamite.

Through various interviews it was discovered that Joos had purchased a Norinco SKS rifle, probably the one used in the Harper shooting, in late June 1994 in Washburn, MO. The whereabouts of Timothy T. Coombs and the SKS rifle are unknown. Coombs is wanted on a McDonald County, MO, warrant for class A felony assault on a law enforcement officer in the first degree and for armed criminal action. He also is wanted by the FBI on a federal fugitive arrest warrant for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

Because of continuing health problems resulting from the shooting, Cpl. Harper was forced to retire from the Missouri Highway Patrol in February 1995.

Senator SPECTER. Our next witness is the distinguished Maricopa County Attorney from Phoenix, AZ, the Honorable Richard Romley. He is accompanied here today by his top deputy, Barnett Lotstein, who was top deputy for me when I was district attorney of Philadelphia.

Before DA Romley testifies, we would like to call on Senator Kyl for an introduction.

Senator KYL. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to very briefly reintroduce Rick Romley. Rick Romley is the county attorney for more than half of the population of the State of Arizona—cities such as Phoenix, Scottsdale, Tempe, Mesa, Sun City, names familiar to many of us. He served our Nation in Vietnam and still bears the scars of that service.

He is known as a tough prosecutor, but an extraordinarily fine lawyer, with a wonderful staff, and I think he could be reelected as many times as he would seek reelection. He has approached this issue, Mr. Chairman, in the same way that you have and, frankly, the other members of the committee. This is not a very partisan issue on this committee, and though I am not on this particular subcommittee, I know that Senator Kohl and Senator Feinstein and you and most of the members of the Senate have approached this issue with the goal in mind of firmly protecting our citizens, and yet not overreacting so as to create martyrs.

It is that balance which we have sought to achieve which I know that Rick Romley has also sought to achieve in his work, and so it really is an honor for me to reintroduce the Maricopa County attorney, Rick Romley, and I look forward to his testimony, and just apologize to all of the members of the panel. Not serving on this subcommittee, I have other commitments this morning, but I will stay for all of the presentations, at least, by the members of this panel.

Again, I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kyl.

Well, that is quite an introduction, Mr. Romley. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. ROMLEY

Mr. ROMLEY. Well, thank you, Senator Kyl, Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee. Let me, first of all, thank you for giving me the opportunity to appear before you today and to discuss with you the growing concern about militia movements in the United States, and more specifically in my home State of Arizona.

As Senator Kyl has pointed out, I am the Maricopa County attorney and I am the chief prosecutor in a county whose population is approximately 2.5 million individuals. It encompasses 23 cities and towns, including the city of Phoenix. I am responsible for more than 250 prosecuting attorneys, whose primary role is to investigate and prosecute the more than 40,000 felony offenses reported to my office each year.

The horror of Oklahoma City has unfortunately thrust Arizona on to the front pages of our Nation's newspapers. As most of us know, the accused bomber, Timothy McVeigh, did live in Arizona. We also know that numerous associates of Mr. McVeigh also reside

in Arizona, and it has been reported that they have connections with various military organizations.

Arizona, like other States, is experiencing a proliferation of militias. Thirteen groups have recently been identified in Arizona. Some leaders of these groups spew messages of hate and conspiracy, messages rooted in anti-Semitism and racism, messages which create images of black helicopters and international military troops hiding in caves waiting for a signal to usurp our democracy.

However, these messages are so outrageous that they often fall on deaf ears, even among their own members. Therefore, we must be careful not to label all members of militias as supporters of the rantings of these extremists. Our focus must be on the fanatic fringe of the militia movement who maliciously seek to sow the seeds of violent discontent. It is this fanatical fringe claiming to be patriotic Americans who attack by intimidation and violence the very core of our democracy.

In my jurisdiction, we have had direct experience with some of these extremists. My office has prosecuted numerous individuals whose fanaticism was based on racial or religious prejudice and a desire to violently destroy confidence in our democratically elected government. Let me tell you about one case.

It involved a member of a white supremacist group called the Arizona White Battalion, and this is some of the literature. This is "white power death to race mixing." Those are some of their publications. But he was also associated with a group called the Freemen, a tax-protesting, antigovernment organization. This person conspired to place bombs at more than 37 locations. His targets included synagogues, day care centers, and government buildings. His plan was to detonate the bombs during peak occupation of these buildings. Fortunately, he was apprehended before he could carry out his plan. We worked with the FBI. They did a fine job in that investigation, and he is now serving a long prison sentence.

As horrible as his intentions were, they become even more troublesome when we consider that this potential mad bomber was only 16 years old when he first laid down his plan of destruction, 16 years old when the seeds of hate had already taken root.

These so-called patriots refuse to acknowledge that in a representative democracy, you do not challenge laws by insurrection; you bring your grievances to the ballot box or to the courts. In their quest for notoriety, power, and financial gain, these fanatical individuals shroud their insurrection in patriotism, and it is difficult to explain their underlying motives. They have literally declared war on the very system that guarantees them the freedoms that they demand. It is as if, in the absence of a real threat or enemy, they have turned inward against their own government.

In the face of such attacks, it may be tempting to react quickly and harshly, and this is where I urge caution. We must not be stampeded into quick but ill-conceived action because of the horror of immediate events. We must engage in calm and thoughtful deliberation before we choose our course of action. It must be consistent with our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, for we as Americans do have the right to question and criticize our government.

If there is one common denominator among the extremists in these groups, it is that they all strive for the opportunity of martyr-

dom and we must be careful not to give them that opportunity. If our decisions are made in haste, we help create false martyrs around whom they could rally the disaffected and misguided.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Romley, the red light is on. Could you summarize briefly? Your full statement will be in the record.

Mr. ROMLEY. Thank you.

We must ensure that government does not self-fulfill the prophecy of those who seek to destroy it. However, we in law enforcement must be vigilant, and when these extremists encourage change through violent means rather than just talk, we need to step up and say enough is enough. If an individual steps over the line of lawlessness, we must act swiftly, and as a prosecutor I have no patience with those who break the law or who encourage others to do so.

Let me conclude by stating that I support the antiterrorism legislation that has recently come out of the Senate. This legislation will help ensure that our citizens need not live in fear that horrors such as the World Trade Center bombing or the Federal courthouse bombing in Oklahoma will occur in their communities.

Protecting our right to be free of crime and terrorism is not a partisan issue, and I again applaud the Senate for its bipartisan support of the antiterrorism measures and I would encourage the House of Representatives and the President to adopt this same bipartisan approach and send a clear message to those who would undermine the rule of law that we will protect ourselves and our democracy against their fanaticism.

Thank you once again for giving me this opportunity and I will be glad to answer any questions at the end. Thank you again.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Romley.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Romley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. ROMLEY

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to appear before you today, and to discuss with you the growing concern about militia movements in the United States; and more specifically, in my home State of Arizona.

As Maricopa County attorney I am the chief prosecutor in a county whose population is approximately two and one-half million people. It encompasses twenty-three cities and towns, including the city of Phoenix. I am responsible for more than two hundred and fifty prosecuting attorneys whose primary role is to investigate and prosecute the more than forty thousand felony offenses reported to my office each year.

The horror of Oklahoma City has unfortunately thrust Arizona onto the front pages of our nation's newspapers. As most of us know, the accused bomber—Timothy McVeigh—lived in Arizona. We also know that numerous associates of Mr. McVeigh also reside in Arizona and it has been reported that they have connections with various militia organizations.

Arizona, like other States, is experiencing a proliferation of militias. Thirteen groups have recently been identified. Some leaders of these groups spew messages of hate and conspiracy. Messages rooted in anti-semitism and racism. Messages which create images of "black helicopters" and international military troops hiding in caves waiting for a signal to usurp our democracy. However, these messages are so outrageous that they often fall on deaf ears, even among their own members. Therefore, we must be careful not to label all members of militias as supporters of the rantings of these extremists. Our focus must be on the fanatic fringe of the militia movement who maliciously seek to sow the seeds of violent discontent.

It is this fanatical fringe—claiming to be patriotic Americans—who attack by intimidation and violence the very core of our democracy. In my jurisdiction we have had direct experience with some of these extremists. My office has prosecuted numerous individuals whose fanaticism was based on racial or religious prejudice and

a desire to violently destroy confidence in our democratically elected government. Let me tell you about one case. It involved a member of a white-supremacist group called the "Arizona White Battalion" who was also associated with a group called "The Freeman", a tax-protesting, anti-government organization. This person conspired to place bombs at more than thirty-seven locations. His targets included synagogues, day care centers and government buildings. His plan was to detonate the bombs during peak occupation of these buildings. Fortunately, he was apprehended before he could carry out his plan, and is now serving a long prison sentence. As horrible as his intentions were, they become even more troublesome when we consider that this potential mad bomber was only sixteen years old when he first laid down his plan of destruction. Sixteen years old when the seeds of hate had already taken root.

So-called "patriots" refuse to acknowledge that in a representative democracy you do not challenge laws by insurrection, you bring your grievances to the ballot box or to the courts. In their quest for notoriety, power and financial gain these fanatical individuals shroud their insurrection in patriotism. It is difficult to explain their underlying motives. They have declared war on the very system that guarantees them the freedoms they demand. It is as if, in the absence of a real threat or enemy, they have turned inward against their own government.

In the face of such attacks it may be tempting to react quickly and harshly. This is where I urge caution. We must not be stampeded into quick, but ill-conceived action because of the horror of immediate events. We must engage in calm and thoughtful deliberation before we choose our course of action. It must be consistent with our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms. For we as Americans, have the right to question and criticize our government.

If there is one common denominator among the extremists in these groups, it is that they all strive for the opportunity of martyrdom. We must be careful not to give them that opportunity. If our decisions are made in haste, we help create false martyrs around whom they could rally this disaffected and misguided. We must ensure that government does not self-fulfill the prophecy of those who seek to destroy.

However, we in law enforcement must be vigilant. When these extremists encourage change through violent means rather than just talk, we need to step up and say enough is enough. If an individual steps over the line of lawlessness, we must act swiftly. As a prosecutor I have no patience with those who break the law or who encourage others to do so.

As one who is on the front line in the battle against crime and extremism, I applaud the Senate's passage of the anti-terrorism legislation. You have given law enforcement tools with which to combat this menace.

Specifically, I support the increased penalties, the additional investigatory tools, the authorization to hire law enforcement officers, and the commitment to finance a new anti-terrorism center to facilitate the sharing of information among law enforcement agencies.

I also strongly support Habeas corpus reform. As a prosecutor I feel the frustration of delayed justice. For too long habeas corpus has been used by the convicted as a tactical device of obstruction rather than as a substantive review of appropriate legal issues. Your passage of this reform is long overdue.

This legislation will help ensure that our citizens need not live in fear that horrors such as the World Trade Center bombing or the Federal courthouse bombing in Oklahoma will occur in their communities. Protecting our right to be free of crime and terrorism is not a partisan issue. I again applaud the Senate for its bipartisan support of these anti-terrorism measures. I would encourage the House of Representatives and the President to adopt this same bipartisan approach and send a clear message to those who would undermine the rule of law that we will protect ourselves and our democracy against their fanaticism.

Thank you again for giving me this opportunity. I would be happy to answer any questions that the committee may wish to ask.

BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD M. ROMLEY, MARICOPA COUNTY ATTORNEY

Rick, as he is known to almost everyone, is an Arizona native, born in Tucson in 1949. Rick and his wife Carol have 3 sons: Darin, David, and Aaron. Rick served two years in the U.S. Marine Corps and was injured while on a tour of duty in the Republic of South Vietnam. He is a 1974 graduate of Arizona State University where he majored in Business Management, graduating in the top 5% of the nation. Rick owned and operated a retail clothing store in the Valley for 5 years after graduation. But he knew he wanted something more so he went back to college and in 1981 graduated with a Juris Doctorate from the Law School at Arizona State University.

Mr. Romley began his career as a prosecutor with the City of Phoenix where he worked his way up to Special Prosecutor. He then joined the Maricopa County Attorney's Office as a deputy county attorney. After working in a trial group, Rick became Unit Chief in the Organized Crime and Narcotics Division. He also served as Special prosecutor in cases involving child molestation and sexual assault. In addition he served as Law Enforcement Coordinator for burglary undercover sting operations. Rick resigned his position as Deputy County Attorney in 1988 to run for the Office of Maricopa County Attorney.

Richard M. Romley was sworn in as County Attorney in January of 1989. Since then the office has grown in stature, receiving national recognition in many areas. The anti-drug program popularly known as "Do Drugs. Do Time." was recognized as a national model in 1992 by the President's Drug Advisory Committee. In 1990, Mr. Romley formed the "Anti-Drug A.P.P.L.E. Corps". This project, funded by a grant from the Maricopa County Attorney's RICO account, is designed to reach at-risk children in after school programs. The Anti-Drug A.P.P.L.E. Corps recently received national recognition when Mr. Romley was invited to Washington to speak to a congressional subcommittee. In the last five years, the Maricopa County Attorney's Office has received 20 awards for excellence in County Government from the National Association of Counties (NACo). Mr. Romley was Arizona's County Attorney of the Year in 1992. In the same year, he received an award for leadership from the U.S. Department of Justice. He has also received a special commendation from Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) for his efforts to toughen drunk driving laws.

Mr. Romley is also known for his involvement in the investigation and prosecution of the largest public corruption case in Arizona's history, known as "AzScam." He has taken the lead role in rewriting Arizona's Criminal Code, including "Truth in Sentencing" and tougher DUI laws. He has helped Arizona by amending the state constitution to secure Victim Rights. He continues to focus attention on reform of the juvenile justice system, victims' rights and domestic violence issues. He has also created specialized prosecution units for gangs, computer crimes, hate/bias crimes, arson and, elderly abuse cases.

Senator SPECTER. We have been joined by Senator Abraham. Senator Abraham, would you care to make any opening comment at this time?

Senator ABRAHAM. No; I will pass at this time.

Senator SPECTER. OK; and we have been joined also by Senator Thompson. Senator Thompson, would you care to make an opening statement?

Senator THOMPSON. No opening statement, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much.

Now, we turn to the distinguished county attorney of Roundup, MT, the Honorable John Bohlman. Mr. Bohlman, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF JOHN BOHLMAN

Mr. BOHLMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. I would like to say that I am probably the exact opposite of Mr. Romley. I serve two counties. One has a population of 4,400 people, with a total law enforcement of five officers, and one county has 900 people, with two officers, which gives us a rather different perspective on these activities.

We also are 500 miles from Noxon, MT, which is the headquarters of the Militia of Montana, and about the same distance from Ravalli County where the North American Militia has been active. However, the last week of February of this year, we received through the sheriff—and I think he received a tip from the FBI; it was never clear to me—but we received a tip that members of the Freemen organization would be attempting to kidnap a judge in eastern Montana, probably a prosecutor, also. They would be trying that person, videotaping the trial, and would end the trial with a hanging.

We had extra people on guard, sheriff's reserve deputies, in our courthouse in case such an event occurred. The last day of the week, March 3, an arrest was made for a traffic violation on two men for no license plates. That arrest led to a charge of concealed weapons violations, and that led to a discovery of a large number of weapons. They also had about \$50,000 to \$60,000 in gold and silver coins, a video camera, plastic flex cuffs, about everything that we thought would be necessary if you were going to commit a crime that we were warned was going to happen.

One of the men had in his pocket a map of Jordan, MT. It was a hand-drawn map. Jordan, MT, is the county seat of Garfield, MT, which is where Nick Murnion, who was mentioned by Senator Baucus—Nick Murnion is the county attorney there. Nick Murnion's home was marked on the map, and also the sheriff's home, and both offices were marked on the map.

Because they had successfully prosecuted a Freeman and had him sentenced to 10 years in prison, I think that the attempt was probably going to be made in Garfield County. Because what I believe was an attempted crime was stopped before it occurred, there was no sufficient evidence. For whatever reason, the information that led us to be on alert could not be confirmed. I can't tell you why, and we were not able to put together any conspiracy and prosecute for what we thought was happening.

Shortly after the first two men were arrested, five additional men came to the sheriff's department. Three entered the sheriff's office; one had a concealed weapon. This led to the arrest of the next five individuals, which turned out to include some militia men. One of the militia members had on him an order form for 200 .50-caliber single-shot rifles with high quality scopes and 1,000 rounds of ammunition for each. This was to be paid for by a certified money order issued by one of the Freemen in my county. Those money orders, and also certified banker's checks issued by that man, have turned up in various States, including Minnesota and Arizona. I have recently been in contact with a county attorney in Arizona who is intending to prosecute for a check that was sent there for \$250,000 to attempt to bail out a man who was being held in jail.

The Freemen in my county live about 10 miles from town. There are at least three of them who all have felony warrants for their arrest. One of them has a Federal warrant for tax evasion. The property on which they live has been seized by the IRS. Over a year ago, it was put up for bids, but no one has ever been evicted from the property, so no one, of course, will buy the property. The men are living there. It is pretty strategically located. They outgun local law enforcement.

The recent arrest of one of the members of this group has led to my receiving documents filed in what they call their own court. They have declared their own court system which goes all the way to their own supreme court. They are all located at the same address, however. In these documents, I have been told that the arrest of this individual was an act of war. We have received other declarations that if we step onto the property of the Freemen that that will be a declaration of war.

I think that it is wrong for people to be able to violate the law and be immune from arrest because they threaten violence and display the capability of violence. These men outgun the local sheriff's department and it is a dilemma as to at what point do we effectuate an arrest that will probably have a violent outcome when they have not committed at this point harm to any person.

Thank you.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Bohlman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bohlman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN BOHLMAN

In my day to day work activities since becoming county attorney on January 1, 1995, I have little contact with any members of the Militia of Montana or members of any other militia group. Even prior to my taking office as county attorney, I was aware that the militia activity in Montana was primarily taking place in the western part of Montana. As Noxon, Montana, is over 500 miles northwest of my hometown of Roundup, Montana, I was not very attentive to Militia of Montana activities. I was much more concerned with the eastern Montana "Freemen" who were very active in Musselshell and Garfield Counties. I believe that one of the reasons that the "Freemen" made their most violent threats and took their most aggressive actions in Garfield County is the fact that Garfield County has a total population of less than 1500 people and that the total law enforcement presence consists of a sheriff and his undersheriff. Fugitives from state and federal warrants are currently making their base of operation a log home in Musselshell County where the total population is about 4,400 people and the Sheriff's Department consists of five officers.

In spite of the absence of a militia organization in Musselshell County, I have had direct dealings with the Militia of Montana and other militia and "patriot" group members since March 3, 1995. During the week beginning February 27, 1995, the Musselshell County Sheriff's Department was on alert that an organization known as the "Freemen", and/or members of similar organizations, were planning to kidnap a judge and/or county prosecutor in eastern Montana. As the information was related to me by the Sheriff of Musselshell County, the federal agency supplying the warning stated that it was believed that Garfield County Attorney Nick Murnion, the District Court Judge that served Garfield County, and Musselshell County's District Judge Roy C. Rodeghiero were considered the most likely targets, and that the victim was to be put on trial before the organization members, convicted, executed by hanging, and that the whole event was to be videotaped. Based on that information, the Musselshell County Sheriff placed reserve deputies in the Musselshell County Courthouse to increase security for Judge Rodeghiero. The Judge was also accompanied to work in the mornings and home in the evenings by Sheriff's deputies.

On the afternoon of March 3, 1995, two men were arrested for violation of the state's concealed weapon law, a misdemeanor, after they had been stopped by a deputy for driving a pickup with no license plates. (Earlier, one of the two men had been in the county courthouse and had spent time on each floor, including being just outside the judge's office.) That stop led to the deputy finding that the driver also had no driver's license. When the two men exited the pickup, the deputy learned that both men were carrying concealed weapons without permits, and both men were placed under arrest. Shortly after the arrest, the sheriff's deputies learned that the two men had in their possession a large amount of weapons and ammunition which included bullets that would pierce class II body armor commonly worn by law enforcement officers, approximately 30 plastic "flex-cuffs" and a role of duct tape, approximately \$26,000 in cash and approximately \$60,000 in gold and silver coins, a video camera and film and a 35mm. Minolta camera with additional lenses, and sophisticated radio communication equipment. (See copy of newspaper photo attached as Exhibit 1.) At the time of this discovery, the deputies concluded that they had disrupted the attempt to kidnap and kill a judge about which we had been warned by a federal agency. A few days after the arrest, a hand drawn map carried in the pocket of one of the men, Frank Ellena, was identified as a map of the town of Jordan, Montana. The map clearly marked for identification the home of the Sheriff and the home of the county prosecutor, Nick Murnion, who had successfully convicted a member of the Freeman group who was sentenced to ten (10) years in prison.

At approximately 6 o'clock p.m. on March 3, 1995, and only about 90 minutes after the first two men were jailed, two vehicles containing six men entered the parking area of the Musselshell County Sheriff's Department and parked facing the door in what appeared to the deputies to be an effort to control entrance to the Sheriff's Department. The first deputy to see the vehicles believed that when the vehicles entered the parking area, at least one occupant in each vehicle was speaking into a remote, hand held radio transmitter/receiver. (When the first two men were stopped, they too were talking into a remote, hand held radio transmitter/receiver.) Two men remained in one car, and three men entered the jail and made what the deputies described as a demand that the evidence recently taken be turned over to them. The jail lacks security due to its age and design so the evidence, guns, etc., was in clear view of the three men. As the demand or request was being made, one of the deputies saw a gun concealed on one of the men when that man's jacket opened. The two deputies immediately placed the three individuals under arrest. It was believed by the deputies that these three men and the two men in the car outside were co-conspirators of the first two men arrested.

After securing the three individuals arrested inside the jail, the two deputies went outside to the white car which contained two men. According to the deputies, one of the two men was speaking into a hand-held radio transmitter/receiver as the deputies approached and both men locked the doors of the two-door car. The officers had their weapons drawn and demanded that the two men exit the car. The two men refused and one continued to talk into a radio. One deputy saw a gun tucked into the front of the passenger's pants and the driver began unzipping his jacket as if reaching for a gun. The driver's side window was broken by one deputy and the passenger then opened his door. Both men were placed under arrest and a check of both men showed that both men were carrying handguns and that the driver did have a hand gun in a shoulder holster under his jacket.

I learned later that night that the passenger in the two-door car was John Trochman, a founder of the Militia of Montana. I did not know anything about him until I read the newspaper the following day and then read an Esquire magazine interview with John Trochman. Within an hour after the arrest of John Trochman, telephone calls began coming into the jail from all over Montana, and from other states as well. In the week that followed, the jail received hundreds of telephone calls from all over the United States demanding that the arrested individuals be released and making threats against the Sheriff and his deputies. Attached as Exhibit 2 is a copy of the message sent out by M.O.M. directing people to make those calls. My office telephone was ringing continuously and my secretary and I received approximately 40 threats on our lives and threats that included my secretary's family. One caller identified himself as being with the Militia of Montana and made threatening comments about my secretary's adopted Korean daughter. Because of the racial comments made by some of the callers, my secretary drove to another state during the night to hide her daughter. One of the deputies sent his family out-of-town after he received a call that neither of the two arresting deputies could find a hole deep enough to hide in. Some callers stated that armed men from militia organizations in various states would come to Roundup to see that justice was done to those of us responsible for the arrest of the "fine patriot John Trochman." Many callers stated that they knew my phones were "bugged" by the F.B.I. and that these 7 men had been arrested on false charges as part of an F.B.I. scheme to get John Trochman into custody. Interestingly, Randy Trochman, a co-founder of M.O.M., gave press releases disavowing any link between John Trochman and M.O.M. and the "Freemen" organization. He stated that the "Freemen" were extremist and that John Trochman was in Musselshell County to attempt to negotiate a settlement of the tensions between the "Freemen" and local law enforcement. However, facts sharply contradict those press releases. In the January 24, 1995, issue of Taking Aim, M.O.M.'s newsletter, John Trochman wrote an extensive article explaining how to set up replacement governments at the county level and how to create the so-called assets that are the basis of money crimes being actively committed by at least two of the "Freemen" operating out of Musselshell County. Mr. Trochman even thanked three "Freemen" leaders for teaching these techniques and he encouraged readers to go and study with the "Freemen" so that the techniques could be implemented. The article went so far as to state that M.O.M. would help interested individuals make arrangements to spend the necessary time with the "Freemen".

In concluding my written statement about the militias, I want to state that on a personal level I am opposed to such organizations because I believe they are attempting to impose their political will by force and the threat of force. It is impossible to lump them into a single classification at this time because the different groups have some common ground, but they also have very distinct variations. My opinion is that they are predominately racist and that they are composed of mem-

bers who do not fundamentally agree with equality of citizens and the principle of one-person, one-vote. However, as a prosecutor for the State of Montana, my only public concern is that laws not be broken and that when the laws are broken, those criminals responsible are apprehended and dealt with fairly by our criminal legal system. I am concerned that militias will spawn lawbreakers who will be immune from prosecution due to actual violent resistance by the lawbreakers' militia associates or due to the threat of violence readily projected by M.O.M. and the North America Militia. I believe my fear has been realized already in the person of John Trochman. Mr. Trochman and an associate recently committed what I consider to have been misdemeanor assaults on Shaun McLaughlin and his camera man, both TV news reporters from Oklahoma City, while the two reporters were on a public road. I believe that no charges resulted from that event. When Mr. Trochman was in the Musselshell County Jail he claimed to have a concealed weapon permit. However, the permit had no expiration date when state law requires a 4 year expiration on such permits, "none" fills the space where the person is to identify a social security number, and the permit was not recorded as required with the Montana Department of Justice. However, the state attorney general's office declined prosecution. At M.O.M. meetings and in public statements, Mr. Trochman has made it clear that he and the Militia of Montana are protecting Gordon Sellner from arrest. Gordon Sellner is charged with shooting a deputy sheriff. The use of force, deception, or intimidation to purposely prevent or obstruct anyone from performing an act that might aid in the apprehension of Mr. Sellner is a crime in Montana. Similarly, Calvin Greenup was able to avoid arrest for crimes he committed in Ravalli County, Montana, for quite some time because of his violent threats and leadership position with the North America Militia.

FREEMEN

For the past four years, the activities of Rodney Skurdal have become bolder and bolder and more threatening in regards to violence toward public servants. Mr. Skurdal is a Montana leader of a group which Montanans refer to as "Freemen". The name comes from their use of the term "freeman character" when identifying themselves. The group particularly targets county government officials and judges as traitors who are to be executed. The group members reveal racism in their own writings, and their version of law combines the Magna Charta, The Bible, old English common-law, and a 19th century state constitution. They also apply different aspects of the United States Constitution to varying classes of citizenship as identified by the group. In Garfield County Montana, bounties were posted by the "Freemen" for various public officials and those officials were to be executed by hanging. Around the state of Montana, there are a variety of felony warrants for the arrest of Rodney Skurdal and LeRoy Schweitzer stemming from their Freeman related criminal acts. However, they continue to operate out of a log home in Musselshell County that the I.R.S. "seized" for failure to pay taxes, but from which Rodney Skurdal has never been evicted. There is also a federal warrant for the arrest of LeRoy Schweitzer.

The "Freemen" are promoting and selling bogus money orders which they claim must be accepted as payment of debts. Rodney Skurdal recently issued a \$20,000,000 bogus money order which was deposited in a bank by the mayor of the town of Cascade, Montana. "Certified Bank Checks" signed by LeRoy Schweitzer on check blanks printed by Skurdal and Schweitzer and written on a closed account for which they never had signature authorization, are being sent to militiamen, "Freemen", and other anti-government activists around the country. (See attached photocopies of checks, Exhibit 4) The "Freemen" publish a local newspaper what they considered to be proper notice to claimed debtors, including the United States Government and agencies of the government, and they make their judgment based on those published notices. They also publish notice of the creation of their courts. I have attached as Exhibit 4a a copy of a page of our local newspaper dated June 7, 1995, in which various notices are given and in which a group in Michigan published notice of their creation of their "One Supreme Court in Common Law Venue." Recently the "Freemen" documents declare that their courts have been recognized by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals. However, I have read the opinion which they cite, and I don't see any of the claims made by the "Freemen" as being stated in that opinion.

I recently charged six (6) "Freemen" for felony crimes committed in Musselshell County, Montana. Those charges stem from a written demand they made on a Justice of the Peace that he appear in their court located at the address of Rodney Skurdal's log home, and that the Justice of the Peace produce evidence and prove the pending misdemeanor cases against two "Freemen" for carrying concealed weap-

ons. I have attached copies of two of the documents which led to the charges as Exhibit 5. I have also attached a copy of the new Montana law under which I charged the six "Freemen" as Exhibit 6. To this date, only one of the men has been arrested and he is presently released from jail on \$7,500 bail.

I don't believe that the promotion and creation of parallel courts by the "Freemen" can be comprehended by my written explanation. Therefore, I am attaching as Exhibit 7 the most recent documents received by myself and others in Musselshell County. To assist the reader, I have underlined the parts I consider most revealing. The one million dollar check referred to in the documents was not actually among the documents received by our county clerk and recorder. The most astounding thing about these documents is that they appear to have been also sent to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals for those justices to sign one of the documents above the signatures of our local self-appointed "Freemen" justices.

Finally, because the documents attached as Exhibit 7 claim that Frank Ellena was a prisoner of war and that his arrest was an act of war, I have attached as Exhibit 8 some pages of transcripts from Mr. Ellena's appearance in district court for arraignment and bail reduction. Although Mr. Ellena was very cooperative and stated that the terms and conditions of his bail reduction were agreeable to him, he now claims that he was justifiably lying in order to escape our "evil trap."

The community in which I live is under an unusual strain. Many people are strongly objectionable to the actions of the "Freemen" and they strongly object that many residents who are on public assistance or otherwise take advantage of public services are so vocal with their opposition to taxes, county officials, and government in general. However, there is also a fear that should one speak out against these individuals, that one's property or person will be harmed. The liens filed by the "Freemen" may seem like a joke unless you are the person attempting to sell your property and you learn you can't buy title insurance because a Freeman has a million dollar lien filed against the property. The community is further aggravated because the most militant individuals are able to break laws without punishment. It is particularly frustrating to see some people continue to not pay taxes for many years with what appears to be impunity because those people threaten violence. If this trend continues, more and more people will believe that the Freeman interpretation of law is correct; and even if they don't believe that they will at least see the obvious: that guns are cheaper than taxes!

Dated the ____ day of June, 1995, John Bohlman, County Attorney for Golden Valley and Musselshell Counties, Montana.

Senator SPECTER. We will now proceed to 5-minute rounds of questioning by all members of the panel.

Mr. Brown, permit me to begin with you on the statement which was made by Senator Levin on his comments on incendiary speech, bearing in mind what Colonel Mills has had to say about the need to back up officers, which we all agree with.

Senator Levin made the comment that one of the members of the militia said, "I found out where the ATF office is and I am going to find a way to take them out." Do you consider that a sufficient provocative cause for law enforcement action either by way of arrest or investigation?

Mr. BROWN. That type of statement in itself certainly would probably not be a violation of the law, but there is a fine line when you start talking about murdering police officers or ATF agents because ATF has been the subject of numerous threats by alleged militia members. Certainly, when you look at the freedom of speech issue versus violations of law, that in itself would certainly probably not be a violation, but it would be taken very seriously by ATF if it were directed against our employees.

Senator SPECTER. Well, Mr. Bryant has testified about the standard for investigation by the FBI, reasonable indication of criminal activity. If that kind of a statement were brought to your attention—and I ask you this question in terms of whether you need more authority—would you have existing authority?

I will give you my own view. If somebody is saying that he found the office and he is going to take them out, I think that warrants an inquiry, and I would be interested to know whether you think you have sufficient authority at the present time when that kind of a threat would be made to at least conduct a preliminary inquiry by ATF.

Mr. BROWN. I think we certainly have the authority to conduct an inquiry, and we have and did in this particular situation and would continue to do that. We would, certainly, take any threat like that very seriously.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Romley, you made a comment about anti-Semitism and racism as to what you have seen. I would be interested to know if you could be a little more specific about the exact comments which were made in an anti-Semitic way or in a racist way.

Mr. ROMLEY. Mr. Chairman, Maricopa County, which includes Phoenix, has seen in the recent past a tremendous increase in white supremacist groups themselves that basically have racist comments, as well as anti-Semitic comments. What is probably the most troubling, and without getting into all the very specific comments, is that the comments are becoming more violent in nature with specific threats of doing bodily harm, as well as causing death, and that is a major concern in my particular county and we are very focused into this area. I have a specific hate bias crime bureau with a primary responsibility toward touching all 23 law enforcement agencies.

If I could, my staff has just brought up to me—the individual that I referred to in my comments was sentenced to prison and was up for parole at one point in time, and we were objecting to that particular parole and we asked the Department of Corrections and Prisons to search his cell. He was, basically, stating that he had gone away with the white supremacist movement and he no longer existed, and I would like to read to you a letter that we found in his—it is not very long, Senator, if I could—in his cell, and it basically, ended up in the denial of his parole.

This is from that individual. "I am a Nazi walking, psychopath talking Third Reich gangster, just a gangster stalking. Killing niggers and Jews is what I do. I like"—this is cut off Senator; I am sorry.

I like the ways, but don't think that they are cruel, so when I am rolling through your hood, you spooks better hide because you are no good, killing you off like a disease. You beg, cry, even say please, but no mercy is my middle name, killing you all because you are all the same. Ain't got no shame in my game. I kill sub-humans to get my fame. So now you know what I am about. I will always take niggers and Jews out. I broke in a house and what did I see? Fine, bug-eyed bastards just staring at me. So I planted the bomb and started to run. The thing went off like a big gun. I ran down the street. Burning thoughts of Adolph Hitler were churning in my head; yet, white power I believe in is still running through my head. It is making me kill.

These are the types of letters that are—some of the extremist actions that we are beginning to see in the militia movement and we need to take strong action.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Romley. I have quite a few more questions, but the red light went off in the middle of your answer and I am going to turn now to the next member.

We are going to have to maintain pretty tight control on the time because we do have a series of votes starting at 12:15 and we do have another panel to listen to.

So I would yield now to our distinguished ranking member, Senator Kohl. Before we do that, Senator Kohl, Senator Leahy has just arrived and might want to make a short opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK J. LEAHY, A U.S. SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT**

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Chairman, I will put it in the record, but I think that the presence here today of leaders of the militia movement in this country is a testament to the strength of our first amendment. I understand that many of these people feel that their Government is corrupt and that the Government is not here to serve the people of the country, but to do them harm.

I find their views abhorrent. They describe a view of our Government and law enforcement that most Americans do not share. I do not. As one who served for nearly 9 years in law enforcement, I have the highest respect for our people in law enforcement. I am disgusted by those who constantly want to tear down the people who run this country and help make this country operate, whether in law enforcement or public service.

We are the greatest, most powerful democracy on Earth, and it is the men and women who serve our Government who keep it the greatest, the most powerful, and the most wonderful democracy in the history of the world. I am just disgusted at the attacks on law enforcement that I have heard.

I must say, Mr. Chairman, you deserve enormous praise for holding this hearing, you and Senator Kohl. I know that many of the things that you hear from these people must be as abhorrent to you as they are to me—racial attacks, ethnic attacks, religious attacks. These are abhorrent to all Americans, but I think the two of you have demonstrated that this country works the way the Constitution says, not the way that some of these self-styled militias say, but the way our Constitution has said for 200 years that we allow diversity of views and that we have a democratic way to change any aspects of our Government we don't like, a democratic way, not a way by violence. So I commend you for doing that.

[The prepared statement of Senator Leahy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR PATRICK J. LEAHY

The presence here today of the leaders of the militia movement in this country is a testament to the strength of our First Amendment. I understand that members of these militia's feel fervently that their government is corrupt. Worse, they believe the government is not here to serve the people of this country but instead to do them harm.

The views of the militia leaders here today are abhorrent to me and most Americans. They certainly describe a view of our government and law enforcement officers that I and most Americans do not share. Yet, they have been invited to speak here in a Senate hearing room, at the heart of the government they so despise.

I commend the Chairman of this Subcommittee for holding this hearing. Inviting the leaders of these self-styled militia groups to share their views with Members of Congress will probably do nothing to change their perception of the government. But, more significantly, it demonstrates our commitment to the Constitution and the principles of free speech.

The tragic bombing in Oklahoma City was apparently the product of the hatred that some people in the country have towards our government. It brought into focus

what local and federal law enforcement officers have dealt with for some time: lawlessness committed in the name of patriotism.

After this hearing, we will better understand the views and particular paranoias of these elements in our society and the problems they pose to our law enforcement officers in the field.

Senator SPECTER. Well, thank you, Senator Leahy. My own view is that if we air it in the Congress, we may cut it way down on what is going on on the street. If we hear about it here, it may have a profound effect on a lot of people in this country who will not have to take it out on other people on the street.

Senator KOHL, the time is yours.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. In the interests of brevity, I would just like to ask a simple question. We have a very distinguished and experienced group of law enforcement officers who have had, apparently, considerable experience with militias.

I would like to ask each of you, if you would, to describe militias in one of the following four words. Would you describe them as useful, benign, disturbing, or dangerous? Mr. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. I would describe them as disturbing and some parts of them very dangerous.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. Disturbing and dangerous as well.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Mills.

Mr. MILLS. I would say the same thing. We are seeing them become more hateful and more violent than we ever have in the past, so they are dangerous.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Romley.

Mr. ROMLEY. Disturbing and dangerous, with a fanatic fringe.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Bohlman.

Mr. BOHLMAN. Dangerous. They are too apt to interfere or ready to interfere with any law enforcement.

Senator KOHL. I thank you very much. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kohl.

We will proceed in order of arrival at the subcommittee. Senator Feinstein.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much. I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman, and I too thank you for holding these hearings. As one who comes from California where there are some 35 groups in about 18 of our 58 counties, what we read that is put out by them, the kinds of letters that are presented and writings that are published, really causes great concern.

I have been reading our Constitution. I see nothing in the Constitution which provides for these kinds of private armies, and "militia" is rather well defined in the Constitution, as I think we know. I have also been reading the code as it exists.

Mr. Bryant, I was interested in your statement in your written testimony, if I can find it here, that FBI domestic counter-terrorism investigations under the guidelines are limited to occasions when there is a reasonable indication, "that two or more persons are engaged in an enterprise for the purpose of furthering political or social goals wholly in part through activities that involve force or violence and a violation of the criminal laws of the United States." You go on on the next page to state that investigations take place

when facts or circumstances reasonably indicate that a Federal crime has been, is being, or will be committed.

My question to each one of the Federal officials here is do you believe that present law and present guidelines under those laws are really adequate to give you the authority to investigate some of these organizations and take necessary actions.

Mr. Bryant, could we start with you?

Mr. BRYANT. Senator, the Attorney General guidelines came about as a result of hearings from the Church and Pike committees and the FBI has operated under these guidelines for a number of years. We follow them scrupulously. There are certainly ongoing conversations between Director Freeh and the Department of Justice and there are conversations with Members of Congress about these guidelines.

Senator FEINSTEIN. My question is a little different; it is their adequacy.

Mr. BRYANT. To answer your question very directly, we conduct investigations and we are conducting them and we find them to be adequate. We certainly would like some review, which is ongoing.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Brown, would you care to comment?

Mr. BROWN. I concur with Mr. Bryant's comments, as well as ATF's jurisdiction primarily, as you well know, is derived from our jurisdiction in the Federal firearms and explosives laws, and certainly those particular statutes that we enforce are adequate. The typical investigation that ATF conducts is on those individuals that either possess firearms illegally, prohibited persons, or possess illegal firearms, such as machineguns, sawed-off shotguns, silencers, bombs, and so forth. So the jurisdictions we have are adequate in the firearms and explosives area.

Senator FEINSTEIN. We have had a law proposed by an organization that does a lot of investigative work in this area that would add to the Federal Code this wording:

Whoever assembles with one or more persons for the purposes of training with, practicing with, or being instructed in the use of any firearm, explosive, or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons intending to employ unlawfully the same for use in or furtherance of a civil disorder.

Do you believe that would be helpful?

Mr. BRYANT. Senator, Title 18, Section 231, is very similar to that statute and it has been used on an extremely limited basis for a variety of reasons, particularly the First Amendment issues.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Well, I guess what I am trying to get at is I have a great deal of problem with the so-called paramilitary organizations who train for the purpose of insurrection or attack on law enforcement officials or assassination of individuals. What I am trying to get at is there is nothing in the Constitution that gives people the right to do that. Therefore, it would seem to me that as a government we should try to prevent it from happening. What I am trying to aim at is are our laws adequate to give you that ability, and I am also told that this section only deals with teaching or demonstrating.

Mr. BRYANT. To go back to your original question, are the laws adequate, what I am saying to you is if people are planning a conspiracy to murder or kill anybody, the FBI or the ATF—if people have the intent and the ability to violate any law, we are going to

try to prevent it. That is our sworn obligation. If we have information along those lines, we go forward. If they are exercising protected rights, we are not going to get involved as far as if they are exercising their first amendment rights, and it is a very fine line and we look at it on a case-by-case basis, Senator.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Thank you. My time is up. I thank the chairman.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Feinstein.

Senator ABRAHAM.

Senator ABRAHAM. Thank you. I would like to ask Mr. Bryant whether you were satisfied with the terrorism bill as it emerged from the Senate.

Mr. BRYANT. Yes.

Senator ABRAHAM. Do you feel it was effective, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; I do.

Senator ABRAHAM. How about the other panel members? I know that Mr. Romley commented on it. Would either of the others—

Mr. ROMLEY. If I could just make a general comment, Senator, I understand the Lieberman amendment, for example, allows roving intercepts. Arizona has had that for a long time. I have found from a local perspective that sometimes law enforcement from the Federal level has come to me and my shop to be able to expedite investigations because of the inability in certain areas, and the roving intercept has been very valuable in certain areas and so I have supported that.

I know there is a separate bill, the habeas corpus. I know that is a bit controversial, but I have been a strong supporter of habeas corpus reform due to the fact that nobody questions the purpose behind habeas corpus reform and it is very valuable. However, I am afraid the system has begun to lose its perspective, and from my perspective it is being used as a technical tool to avoid accountability. So I am very happy with the Senate's movement.

Senator ABRAHAM. Mr. Mills.

Mr. MILLS. I just support what was said.

Senator ABRAHAM. In light of that, I was wondering if there are any additional tools that you think your bureau or the law enforcement organizations in this country could also be provided that would in any effective way address problems like what happened in Oklahoma City.

Mr. BRYANT. I think one of the suggestions that has been discussed is the domestic terrorism clearinghouse or intelligence-type information, and I think that has been discussed by the Attorney General and the administration where information would come to one location—it was suggested the FBI—regarding issues on domestic and international terrorism.

Senator ABRAHAM. Mr. Brown.

Mr. BROWN. Well, certainly, I agree with that, and in addition to Mr. Bryant's comment, resources are certainly very limited with most of the Federal law enforcement agencies to address the increasing violent crime in this country, whether it involves militias or other violent crimes, so resources are a key component as well.

Senator ABRAHAM. But no other tools besides dollars for more personnel, and so forth?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir.

Senator ABRAHAM. Does anybody else care to comment?

Mr. ROMLEY. I am very happy, Senator, with the clearinghouse concept. I think if there is one thing that is perhaps the best that can come out of this, it is the sharing of information and the consolidation of it. We find it is just very fragmented, and that is critical. That is the most important part, in my view.

Mr. BOHLMAN. I continue to just receive fragmented information and anything that would help in that regard would be appreciated.

Senator ABRAHAM. Mr. Mills.

Mr. MILLS. Well, quite candidly, we have some Federal agencies that come to us and ask for intelligence information because they feel that they are hamstrung in the ability to do that. In Missouri, we have good laws covering civil disorder and they give us the investigative tools to work with.

Senator ABRAHAM. I would like to just ask you two gentlemen, there have been certainly proposals made about the possibility of combining some of the Federal agencies, including your agencies, with respect to trying to deal with the types of problems that we address in the terrorism area and others.

What are your thoughts on that, Mr. Bryant?

Mr. BRYANT. Senator, the FBI has the lead on domestic terrorism by executive order and numerous agreements. I think the issue is the information comes to one place and authority and responsibility be placed in one position and they be tasked with making sure that people in the Missouri Highway Patrol, or whatever, have information they need.

The consolidation of agencies is really a little bit above my pay grade and I think——

Senator ABRAHAM. Do you think it would help, though, to address the problems that you are——

Mr. BRYANT. The critical issue is that information contained in the Federal, State, or local government regarding acts of violence comes to one place so that basically we can prevent acts of terrorism rather than investigate them after they happen. It has got to be the information comes.

Mr. MILLS. I can tell you from Missouri we have the best working relationship with all Federal agencies. In my 28 years in law enforcement, it is the best that it has ever been.

Mr. BROWN. Again, that is probably a question for the Director of ATF. I will say, though, that we do work very well with the FBI and other Federal agencies and share our resources and information, and I think we have a very good reputation with State and local law enforcement as well throughout the country.

Senator ABRAHAM. Well, my time is up.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Abraham.

Senator Thompson.

Senator THOMPSON. First of all, I appreciate your acknowledging what I think is the case, and that is that we probably have got the laws on the books to deal with the situation that we have got at hand. I think too often we have individual instances and groups, and so forth, that get our national attention and we try to fashion something particular for them when we don't need to.

I saw a draft of a statement by someone who was going to testify from the Justice Department when the Oklahoma bombing case

first happened and it basically took the position that there were some instances where a person could do some things very locally where the FBI or the ATF wouldn't have jurisdiction and they needed to correct that. My response to that was so what? I mean, that is why we have local law enforcement. They backed off from that and I think we are back where we ought to be.

Following up on Senator Feinstein's inquiry about that particular statute, I have prosecuted Federal criminal cases in another century and, as I recall, the conspiracy statute is pretty broad. I think section 371 of title 18, if I recall, basically says it is against the law for two or more people to conspire to violate any Federal law. That is a pretty broad authority and I think you have acknowledged that it would probably cover any of these activities that we are dealing with.

Is that correct, Mr. Bryant, generally?

Mr. BRYANT. That is good as long as the court allows the prosecution the conspiracy count, but I think the terrorism bill that is being proposed is a good measure.

Senator THOMPSON. Yes. Well, that is a different kettle of fish, I think.

I didn't hear your opening statements, but I kind of get the feeling that you are pretty much rolling in the militias and the hate groups and the white supremacist groups together. Are you finding that these militia groups have subsumed these earlier groups that have been with us for a long time, that they all have these common characteristics? Is that an accurate characterization, or are we moving in that direction, or are there some militia groups out there that are clearly law-abiding and have some legitimate concerns?

I will ask the gentlemen from the States, as we will put it. Mr. Mills?

Mr. MILLS. We don't paint any group of people with a wide brush and say they are all the same, but I can tell you in our State what we are seeing in the militia groups is an influx of the white supremacy group, the KKK. They see these militia groups as a vehicle to expound their hatred and acts of violence. The groups we deal with, so many of them, see this as an opportunity or a vehicle to do what they want to do.

Senator THOMPSON. So they are carrying out their age-old agendas that we have seen for a long, long time.

Mr. MILLS. Just under a different—

Senator THOMPSON. The new component is the militia component, I guess.

Mr. MILLS. Just under a different guise.

Senator THOMPSON. Very briefly, from the militia standpoint, why do you think we have seen this occurrence, these groups springing up like that, from out in the field there? I mean, are you talking to them maybe after arrests, or their propaganda, or what not? Do you have any feel about what is going on in society out there that they are responding to? Does it have to do with what is going on in the Nation or does it have to do with what is going on within themselves as individuals?

I am not asking you to be psychiatrists or anything, but you deal with this out in the real world. What is your read on that?

Mr. MILLS. I think it is probably a combination of things. We see a lot of concern out there, a lot of misinformation. We see a lot of individuals who are really and truly, I think, just simply misguided, and again they see this as an opportunity to come to the forefront and expound those hate philosophies and carry out their acts. They have found a vehicle to do what they haven't been able to do in the past and it is a kind of a fad now.

Mr. ROMLEY. Senator, if I could make a quick comment, I agree that it would be a mistake to paint all militia members with a broad brush, but they are part of the fanatical groups that spew hate and their hatred toward the Government itself.

Perhaps sort of a little bit of the history of what happened in Arizona might help clarify things. We have had militias in Arizona, I know, back in 1971, and we have seen some dramatic changes in their basic philosophies and how they basically approach things. There has been sort of the white supremacist, the racist kind of attitude in existence with many of the militia members for a long period of time, but probably what has happened—and they use that in some ways to recruit individuals, but what we have noticed recently is that they have changed sort of their tune and they have been looking at what they perceive to be the overreaching of Government, you might call it.

They have used the examples of Ruby Ridge and Waco and the Brady bill as examples of where Government is going beyond what it should be doing, and thus recruiting in perhaps more members. Now, the other members don't know the extremist views of the fanatics themselves, so I have seen sort of a transitioning from—you know, there are still the supremacist, the racist attitudes of some, and now they are using the Government as excuses themselves. I mean, the black helicopter examples—I mean, we hear that among the extremists on regular occasions.

Senator THOMPSON. Thank you. My time is up.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Thompson.

Senator Leahy.

Senator LEAHY. That is OK, Mr. Chairman. I know you are on a tight schedule and I will waive questions.

Senator SPECTER. OK; thank you very much, Senator Leahy.

There are many other questions which I know the panelists would like to ask, but we are not going to be able to do so at this time. It may be that we will have additional hearings, but I would very much appreciate it if the members of the panel would respond in writing to a series of questions which I am going to state now, and provide these to you in writing.

It would be very helpful if you would respond to question No. 1: Does law enforcement need more authority to investigate the militia? No. 2, in your opinion, do we need Federal legislation to regulate or limit the militia? No. 3, it would be very helpful if you would provide the specific instances that you know of of violence by militias against law enforcement officers or others.

No. 4, we would appreciate it if you would provide the specific instances which you have on anti-Semitic comments, racist comments, or comments of white supremacists. No. 5, in your opinion, did the incidents at Ruby Ridge and/or Waco stimulate the growth

of militias? Mr. Romley has addressed that recently in response to Senator Thompson's question.

No. 6, in your opinion, did the failure of Congress to have oversight hearings on Ruby Ridge and/or Waco stimulate the growth of militias? Now a question specifically to you, Mr. Bryant. It has recently been called to my attention that there is a distinction between the Ruby Ridge rules of engagement and the generalized FBI deadly force policy.

In conversations which I have had with people from the FBI, or persons from the FBI, "the rules of engagement" at Ruby Ridge was the term used and has now been suggested that the regular FBI deadly force policy is different. I would appreciate your responding in writing on behalf of the Bureau to that, and also as to whether there were any different rules of engagement at Waco distinct from the FBI deadly force policy.

[The information referred to can be found in the appendix.]

Senator SPECTER. Gentlemen, we thank you very, very much for your participation.

We would now like to call the next panel, Mr. Trochmann, Mr. Robert Fletcher, Mr. Ken Adams, Mr. James Johnson, and Mr. Norman Olson. We appreciate your joining us, gentlemen. As you heard on the last panel, we will have 5-minute opening statements to leave us the maximum amount of time for questioning.

I would like to acknowledge the presence of Mr. John DeCamp, who is sitting with Mr. Trochmann and Mr. Fletcher as counsel. You are welcome, sir.

We will begin with the listing in the witness list as circulated with Mr. John Trochmann from Noxon, MT. Mr. Trochmann, the floor is yours.

PANEL CONSISTING OF JOHN TROCHMANN, NOXON, MT, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN DeCAMP, COUNSEL; ROBERT FLETCHER, NOXON, MT; KEN ADAMS, HARBOR SPRINGS, MI; JAMES JOHNSON, COLUMBUS, OH; AND NORMAN OLSON, ALANSON, MI

STATEMENT OF JOHN TROCHMANN

Mr. TROCHMANN. Greetings from Montana. It is sad that this opportunity to address the Senate has arisen out of the Oklahoma tragedy. We wholeheartedly denounce the deplorable act of violence. We have, and will continue to assist in any manner to apprehend all persons that may have planned and/or carried out that dastardly deed at whatever level they may hide.

At the present time, we view the militia movement as a giant neighborhood watch. The movement is made up of a cross-section of Americans from all walks of life with a singular mandate which is public and overt—the return to the Constitution of the United States and to your oath to defend that Constitution.

The Declaration of Independence gives excellent insight as to why people feel the need to group together and participate in militia/patriot organizations. This document speaks for itself once again as it did over 200 years ago when flagrant injustice continued out of control by oppressive public servants. We request that

this document be entered into the permanent record as a partial support document to our statements.

The following are just a few examples as to why Americans are becoming more and more involved in militia/patriot organizations. The high office of the Presidency has been turned into a position of dictatorial oppression through the abusive use of Executive orders and directives, thus leaving Congress stripped of its authority. When the President overrules Congress by Executive order, representative government fails.

When Government defines human beings as a biological resource under the United Nations ecosystem management program, maintaining that State and local laws are barriers to the goals of Federal Government, and when the average citizen must work for half of each year just to pay their taxes while billions of our tax dollars are forcibly sent to bail out the banking elite while our fellow Americans are homeless, starving, and without jobs, Congress wonders why the constituents get upset.

When Government allows our military to be ordered and controlled by foreigners under Presidential order, allowing foreign armies to train on our soil, allowing our military to label caring patriots as the enemy, and then turns their tanks loose on U.S. citizens to murder and destroy or directs a sniper to shoot a mother in the face while holding her infant in her arms, you bet your constituents get upset.

When Government refuses to hold hearings on Government-sanctioned abuses and white-washes those hearings that are held and when Government tampers with or destroys evidence needed to solve crime and now considers the very idea of infringing upon the people's right of freedom of speech, assembly, and the right to redress after having destroyed the second and fourth articles, how can Senators and Representatives ever question the loyalty of concerned Americans without first cleaning their own house?

The law perverted and the police powers of the state perverted along with it! The law not only turns from its proper purpose, but made to follow a totally contrary purpose, the law becomes the weapon of every kind of greed. Instead of checking crime, the law itself becomes guilty of the evils it is supposed to pursue.

Frenchman Frederick Bastiat, 1884.

We the people have about had all we can stand of the twisted, slanted, biased media of America who take their signals from a few private covert special interest groups bent on destroying what is left of the American way. We respectfully request that you rely upon your own investigations, steering clear of the media and their rumor-gossip mills of misinformation.

Although most everyone in the movement has assembled under the First Amendment "freedom of speech and the right to peaceably assemble," we have not forgotten what our Founding Fathers have stated about the Second. Former President James Madison: "A well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the best and most natural defense of a free country." Former Vice President Eldebridge Garry: "I ask what is the purpose of the militia? To offset the need of large standing armies, the bane of liberty."

Why would he call the armed forces the bane of liberty? Why is the Pentagon waging active campaigns to win over the populace,

and why does Military Affairs Manual 41-10 seem to be so applicable in America today—paraphrasing, steps necessary for the overthrow of a nation?

May God be with America as he watches over the shoulders of you who write her laws. A nation can survive its fools and even the ambitious, but it cannot survive treason from within. America has nothing to fear from patriots maintaining vigilance. She should, however, fear those that would outlaw vigilance.

Thank you.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Trochmann.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Trochmann follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN TROCHMANN

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When government allows our military to be ordered and controlled by foreigners, under presidential order, allowing foreign armies to train on our soil, allowing our military to label "caring" patriots as the enemy, then turns their tanks loose on U.S. citizens to murder and destroy or directs a sniper to shoot a mother in the face while holding her infant in her arms, you bet your constituents get upset.

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ten what our Founding Fathers have stated about the second. Former President James Madison—"A well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the best and most natural defense of a free country"; former vice president Eldbridge Garry—"I ask what is the purpose of the militia? To offset the need of large standing armies—the bane of liberty."

Why would he call the armed forces the bane of liberty? Why is the Pentagon waging an active campaign to win over the populace? Why does military FM 41-10 (civil affairs manual: The steps necessary for the overthrow of a nation) seem to be so applicable to America today.

May God be with America as he watches over the shoulders of you who write her laws. A nation can survive its fools and even the ambitious, but it cannot survive treason from within. America has nothing to fear from patriots maintaining "vigilance" she should, however, fear those that would "out law" vigilance.

PARTIALLY DRAFTED IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776, THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitles them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their Former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good [1995—By increasing Police Powers, militarizing local Police; never carrying out Honest Inquests on Government Corruption.]

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them [1995—Vetos and Presidential Orders.]

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature; a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. [1995—Federal Mandates and Controls through Financial and Political black main.]

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. [1995—Requiring States to alter Laws to conform into the Unconstitutional GATT and Nafta Treaties.]

He has dissolved Representatives Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasion on the rights of the people. [1995—Passing laws Infringing on Several of the People's Rights guaranteed to Them under the Constitution; Presidential Executive Orders that side-step Representative Government.]

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. [1995—Interrupting

final Judgments and Settlements against Government, bankrupting private Liti-gants.]

He has endeavored to prevent the population of the States; for that purpose ob-structing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigner, refusing to pass others to en-courage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. [1995—Pretending acceptance of World cooperation while Restricting im-migrants; selective acceptance of immigrants to fit the personal needs of Those in Power.]

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries [1995—Congressional and Presi-dential Acts of Immunity and Obligations of Judges to Power; covertly through se-lective Appointments.]

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. [1995—Establishing Federal Ar-mies of Abuse under dozens of Enforcement Agencies. Such as the ATF, DEA, BLM, IRS, MJTF, FINCEN, USFS to name a few.]

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the consent of our legislature. [1995—Expanding United Nations Forces with training bases; Foreign equipment storage; Permanent Foreign military bases; Foreign, including Russian cooperative training.]

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. [1995—Presidential Decision Directive 25; classified.]

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-tion, and unacknowledged by or laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation [1995—The GATT trade Agreements. Designed for years to side-step our Sovereignty.]

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us. [1995—Foreign materials and Equipment: Honest Representatives being lied to by the Executive Branch and the U.N. Executives with regard to this equipment.]

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: [1995—Iran-Contra cover-up—Drugs, Murders; 1980 October Surprise Cover-up; White Water Coverup; Inslaw theft Cover-up; Noreign Connections to Government Cover-up; Murder of Panamanian Citizens; WACO Cover-up.]

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: [1995—Aligning with Na-tions into a World Government. Disalignment from those that would NOT become a "New World Slave State."]

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: [1995—Executive Orders giving Tax Dollars. (Billions) away with no representation. Mexican bailout and the war in Iraq.]

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: [1995—Every Ille-gal IRS seizure for 20 years.]

For Transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses.

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, estab-lishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: [1995—Arbitrary false Confiscation of Property by IRS and Land Management placing the Confiscated Property into a United Nations Bio-sphere Park or selling Property for financial expansion of the Enforcing Agency.]

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally their Forms of our Government.

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. [1995—Placing any questionable cases under Federal Mandates and Controlled Jurisdictions.]

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and wag-ing War against us. [1995—WACO, Weaver, New Orleans, Chicago: All areas of Federal Force abuses.]

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people [1995—WACO.]

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally un-worthy the Head of a civilized nation. [1995—The out of Control expansion of Police at all levels, while Crime declines three years in a row. The Creation of "Ethnic" forces, hiring Foreign Enforcement, for Prison Guards, the passage of a Bill for 2500 "hit men" for Janet Reno's Office.]

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. [1995—Training Gang members or young Law breakers into a “youth marine corps” as “brown shirts” for future Action against Private Citizens.]

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. [1995—Covert Instigators and Provocateurs in Los Angeles Riots (Creation of Crisis); Assisting in International chaos.]

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petition have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. [1995—All Requests for Redress are Denied, except at the Whim or Pleasure of the Oppressive State.]

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of Justice and to consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliance, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

NATION

Beware the 'warrior class'

U.S. unprepared for emerging threat, Pentagon aide says

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

An Army major says in an influential military journal that the United States may lack the spine to fight its likeliest enemy.

That enemy: a "warrior class" rising around the world as traditional governments fall in places such as Haiti.

"The soldiers of the United States Army are brilliantly prepared to defeat other soldiers," writes Maj. Ralph Peters, who works in the Pentagon as a threat-assessment officer.

In the new issue of *Parameters*, the journal of the Army War College, he writes: "Unfortunately, the enemies we are likely to face through the rest of this decade and beyond will not be 'soldiers,' with the disciplined modernity that term implies, but 'warriors' — erratic primitives of shifting allegiances, habituated to violence, with no stake in civil order."

"U.S. soldiers are unprepared for the absolute mercilessness of which modern warriors are capable," and are discouraged or forbidden from replying in kind."

Peters finds his new breed of warriors all around the globe, from Haiti through the Balkans and the former Soviet Union to the Middle East, Afghanistan and beyond — even the big-city slums of the United States.

His article says the warriors spring from four pools:

• The underclass, whose typical member he defines as "a male who has no stake in peace, a loser with little education, no legal earning power, no abiding attractiveness to women and no power."

• Younger males shunted by the disruption of civil institutions into the underclass.

• Genuine patriots, motivated by ideological belief or by personal loss.

• Coddled military men. They're the most dangerous, Peters writes. "These men bring other warriors the rudiments of the military art — just enough to inspire faith and encourage folly."

The problem gets worse all the time, he writes. "If the current trend toward national dissolution continues," he says, "by the end of the century there may be more of

those warriors than soldiers in armies worthy of the name."

The former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union alone "are vast training grounds for the warriors who will not be content without a conflict somewhere," Peters writes.

To counter such "warriors," Peters writes, the Army must shape up its intelligence gathering. While traditional intelligence crams facts into rigid geographic categories, he says, warriors roam.

Second, he says, intelligence officers must set aside their preoccupation with numbers and weaponry. Instead, he says, they must start reading books that explain human behavior and regional history.

Finally, he says, the Army must ask whether it can summon up the level of violence it needs.

He writes, "This type of threat generally requires a two-track approach — an active campaign to win over the populace, coupled with irresistible violence directed against the warlord(s) and the warriors. You cannot bargain or compromise with warriors."

FROM

TO

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BULL = WACO - WERVER

HOW?

BURNING

BOMBING

BIO-CHEM

SEE MILITARY FM-41-10 P 13-2

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Fletcher.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT FLETCHER

Mr. FLETCHER. Well, I am going to just stand—in the interests of time so that we can get into some other more pressing concerns, I am not going to give any type of an introductory comment at this point in time other than to point out that what we must look at is the overriding important point, being what is the concern of the actually several million American citizens that are involved with patriot groups, and those concerns basically are an out-of-control Government, an overly oppressive Government, a Government that utilizes a secret, shadow means by which most of you or some of you that are not even involved with it have no idea what money is being spent for in our black, covert funding. So we will kind of get into that.

I want to skip and pass my time on.

Senator SPECTER. Well, Mr. Fletcher, perhaps your time might be used to specify some of the comments which you made this morning on "Good Morning America," ABC, if you would, about a second bomb being planted at Oklahoma City or evidence of a second assailant, a second conspirator.

Mr. FLETCHER. Well, yes. Typically, what I might do so we can cover enough things that will also be important—this is a report that has been put together by a couple of people. One of them is a former FBI agent, formerly with a \$22 million budget and 700 people working under him. He had been with the FBI for some probably 25 years. His determination, along with many experts, is that there was a minimum of at least one, if not two, more explosions simultaneously within the building.

Additionally, we have information that John Doe No. 2 has been located. He has a name. We know who he is, where he is, and that he is also of a foreign descent, and for some reason the FBI is steering away from this gentleman. That needs to be looked into more definitively, and I would offer this report which I will leave with you folks. This also covers the type of bomb that most likely was utilized inside the building.

The idea that it was a huge fertilizer bomb—there was no residue to speak of, no caustic fumes which automatically would come from that bomb if it was singularly placed. Additionally, the idea according to experts is the idea that that bomb directly destroying the building as it did is absolute baloney. So I would just leave this and then we can get into, again, the answers and questions relative to other events of Government corruption and being out of control. I do want to leave as much as we could on that, which includes the militarization of local police offices all over the United States, including the supplying of armored personnel vehicles all over America to smaller police stations, which is ridiculous.

I would like to pass my time.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Adams.

STATEMENT OF KEN ADAMS

Mr. ADAMS. I would like to thank the body here today for inviting us. I think this is a very important time in history that this

body has brought the militia to speak here today. I think it is important that we have the opportunity to talk to one another, to air our views, and to get to know one another, and I hope that the individual States of the militias across the country will also do the same thing with the leaders in their States.

As I sat here this morning and heard the testimony, and I certainly cannot address each piece individually, the things that I heard—at least a dozen different charges from across the Nation of lawlessness—are certainly disturbing not only to me, but to most militia members, and we are certainly totally against violence.

What I do want people to understand through these hearings today is what is the militia today and who are the people that are involved in the militia. I think what we heard today so far in testimony has been very, very, very extreme elements, and in most cases were individuals that were not directly associated with what we would call the mainstream militia movement today, and that is what I would like to address, is who that mainstream militia is.

It is a cross section of Americans of every type of occupation that there is, everything from attorneys to doctors to mechanics to nurses to businessmen of all types. They are everyday Americans that are very, very concerned with what is going on in their country, and we applaud that. We are excited that once again in this Nation people are getting involved in their Government. We are setting up programs right now to help people start registering to vote and going to the polls and getting involved in the legislation and the process that we all love.

The militia—many times it has been reported in the media that they hate their Government. This is not so. We think that our Government, that this body is the finest form of Government in the world and it could not be better. Are there problems in Government? Certainly, there are problems. You can hardly find an American that doesn't have something to complain about. Your body itself, whether you are Republican or Democrat, is complaining about the other side. That is America. That is good and that is healthy.

We believe in the freedom of speech. We do not believe in hatred. We do not believe in racism. If you will look over very, very carefully all the things that you have heard me say in the media and some of the others have said in the media, we have said nothing about hate. We have said nothing about racism. We have not been anti-Semitic.

I am not saying that there aren't fringe elements out there, and I am not saying that over the last 14 months when this organization, this group that is growing across the country has started getting public attention because we have been out in the open—because we have been very public, we have gotten a lot of media. I am not going to say that others aren't going to try to attach themselves to our coat tails and take that ride and try to get their public attention, too, but it is wrong.

If they use hate, if they use violence, if they do not abide by the law, we will be the first to expose them. We will be the first, if they are breaking the law, to turn them over to the law enforcement agencies. In my State, if you will check the record you will find that we have stood behind our law enforcement fully. We have also

initiated legislation in our State to support and empower our sheriffs and other law officials. We are law-abiding, God-fearing Americans, and we ask that this Congress will recognize that we represent literally millions of people in this country who are once again getting involved.

The one thing that they see—the one reason that this movement has grown so rapidly over the last 14 months is because the people do see a voice for them in the militia, and we are excited to be that voice and we want to be an honest voice and an open voice, and there are some fears out there in the country. You have heard about some of the fears this morning. Whether the fear has substance to it or not, it is still a fear and it needs to be addressed. All fears need to be addressed, and expose those fears. If they are real, then let's work on them. If they are not real, then let's expose them for what they are.

Thank you.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Adams.

Mr. Johnson.

STATEMENT OF JAMES JOHNSON

Mr. JOHNSON. Hi. How are you guys doing, Senators? One of the things I wanted to bring up—first, let me tell you who I am. My name is James Johnson. I am a cofounder of a group called E Pluribus Unum and one of the leaders and spokespersons for the Ohio Unorganized Militia. I have spoken to many groups around Ohio and in other States, and I have also helped start some groups.

Now, what I wanted to touch on was what Mr. Thompson said. I think he focused on a key point, which was why these groups are forming; why is it growing like it is. Those are some of the topics that need to be addressed, and I think maybe you can talk to some people on the inside like you have here to answer those questions.

To put it to you bluntly, some of the legislation that has been coming out of Washington, some of the executive actions that are taking place—ladies and gentlemen, these things started a revolution 200 years ago and got this country started, and the people are seeing this. The national news media and the actions of this Government are some of the best recruitment we could have. We don't have to say much. All you have to do is talk to the average person out there to tell you how do you feel about your Government. The people you look at here—we are the calm ones. We are the ones that calm people down.

Now, I am speaking here as a representative for my State and other groups that I know of. The animosity that I see out there between the citizens, all of them, and the Government is frightening. What they did was after listening to all these abuses and Government atrocities that you are going to hear here today, and they saw that they were going to no avail, they decided to see what they could do to become part of the solution.

They looked into the law and, under title 10, U.S.C. 311, saw a phenomenon known as the unorganized militia that consists of all people, even the people taking these pictures right here, everyone, and they began to form themselves in units for their own self-defense and their self-preservation.

Now, the way we stand now—and it is good that we are getting these views aired out because 200 years ago the British didn't get the hint until they saw dead redcoats out there. This time, maybe we can get this out in the open and have things resolved because I feel, and it is concerning me and I am being sincerely honest, that with the increasing polarization between the tax-paying public out there and what goes on not only in here, but in certain State governments, the only thing standing between some of the current legislation being contemplated and armed conflict is time. It is one of the reasons I got in this movement, to help prevent that.

Now, you can see from the last 2 years of sales from the firearms producers in this country that this Nation is probably one of the most heavily armed forces on Earth, and I have heard more and more people say if one of these black-suited, armor-wearing, State-sponsored terrorists comes kicking down my door, I am going to blow somebody away. They don't call themselves militia; they don't even call themselves patriots. They call themselves American citizens who are getting tired of confiscatory tax rates, increasingly heavy regulations, which they believe are leading them down a path to involuntary servitude.

One of the slogans that has been going around, especially in Ohio, is what I have been telling people. For those who think that this is just primarily an angry white male movement, if our ancestors would have been armed they would not have been slaves. That is why people are getting armed, not so much with firepower. That is not the thing that makes it dangerous. What makes it dangerous is they are being armed with knowledge.

What you are going to see is a growing number of citizens—and you are seeing that now; that is why we are here—move away from the authority that is here in the Beltway and begin to create their own kind of constitutional authority. You are going to begin to see this in the resurgence of the common law courts. You are going to begin to see this—and I am going to summarize here—in the formation of the militias. That is what came first to defend ourselves, but you are also going to see this on the legislative end. You are going to see our own candidates and our own elections, and hopefully we can become a system which will attract others into a more constitutional-based system.

Thank you very much.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Olson.

STATEMENT OF NORMAN OLSON

Mr. OLSON. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today. The following statement will attempt to answer the question of the legitimacy and the need of the citizen militia.

Not only does the Constitution specifically allow the formation of a Federal army, it also recognizes the inherent right of the people to form militia. Further, it recognizes that the citizen and his personal armament are the foundation of the militia. The arming of the militia is not left to the State, but to the citizen. However, should the State choose to arm its citizen militia, it is free to do so, bearing in mind that the Constitution is not a document limiting the citizen, but rather limiting the power of Government. But

should the State fail to arm its citizen militia, the right of the people to keep and bear arms becomes the source of the guarantee that the State will not be found defenseless in the presence of a threat to its security.

It makes no sense whatsoever to look to the Constitution of the United States or that of any State for permission to form a citizen militia, since logically the power to permit is also the power to deny. If brought to its logical conclusion in this case, Government may deny the citizen the right to form a militia. If this were to happen, the State would assert itself as the principal of the contract, making the people the agents. Liberty then would depend on the State's grant of liberty. Such a concept is foreign to American thought.

While the second amendment to the United States Constitution recognizes the existence of the State militia and recognizes their necessity for securing a free State, and while it also recognizes that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, the second amendment is not the source of the right to form a militia, nor to keep and bear arms. Those rights existed in the States prior to the formation of the Federal Union. In fact, the right to form militia and to keep and bear arms exists from antiquity. The enumeration of those rights in the Constitution only underscores their natural occurrence and importance.

According to the 10th amendment, ultimate power over the militia is not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, nor to the States, but resides with the people. Consequently, the power of the militia remains in the hands of the people. Again, the fundamental function of the militia in society remains with the people. Therefore, the second amendment recognizes that the militia's existence and the security of the State rests ultimately in the people who volunteer their persons to constitute the militia and their arms to supply its firepower. The primary defense of the State rests with the citizen militia bearing its own arms. Fundamentally, it is not the State that defends the people, but the people who defend the State.

The second line of defense of the State consists of a statutory organization known as the National Guard. Whereas the National Guard is solely the creation of statutory law, the militia derives its existence from the inherent inalienable rights which existed before the Constitution and whose importance is such that they merit specific recognition in that document.

While the National Guard came into existence as the result of legislative activity, the militia had existed before there was a nation or a constitutional form of government. The militia, consisting of people owning and bearing personal weapons, is the very authority out of which the United States Constitution grew. This point must be emphasized. Neither the citizen's militia nor the citizen's private arsenal can be an appropriate subject of Federal regulation. It was the armed militia of the American colonies whose own efforts ultimately led to the establishment of the United States of America.

While some may say that the right to keep and bear arms is granted to Americans by the Constitution, just the opposite is true. The Federal Government itself is the child of the armed citizen. We

the people are the parent of the child we call government. You Senators are part of the child that we the people gave life to. The increasing amount of Federal encroachment into our lives indicates the need for parental corrective action. In short, the Federal Government needs a good spanking to make it behave.

One other important point needs to be made. Since the Constitution is the limiting document upon the Government, the Government cannot become greater than the granting power; that is, the servant cannot become greater than its master. Therefore, should the chief executive or other branch of Government or all branches together act to suspend the Constitution under a rule of martial law, all power granted to Government would be canceled and deferred back to the granting power; that is, the people. I will conclude with this statement. Martial law shall not be possible in this country as long as the people recognize the Bill of Rights as inalienable.

My statement is not complete. However, it has been made part of the record for those who would like to review it. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Olson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NORMAN OLSON

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today. The following statement will attempt to answer the question of the legitimacy and the need of the citizen militia.

Not only does the Constitution specifically allow the formation of a Federal army, it also recognizes the inherent right of the people to form militia. Further, it recognizes that the citizen and his personal armaments are the foundation of the militia. The arming of the militia is not left to the state but to the citizen. However, should the state choose to arm its citizen militia, it is free to do (bearing in mind that the Constitution is not a document limiting the citizen, but rather limiting the power of government). But should the state fail to arm its citizen militia, the right of the people to keep and bear arms becomes the source of the guarantee that the state will not be found defenseless in the presence of a threat to its security. It makes no sense whatsoever to look to the Constitution of the United States or that of any state for permission to form a citizen militia since logically, the power to permit is also the power to deny. If brought to its logical conclusion in this case, government may deny the citizen the right to form a militia. If this were to happen, the state would assert itself as the principle of the contract making the people the agents. Liberty than would depend on the state's grant of liberty. Such a concept is foreign to American thought.

While the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution acknowledges the existence of state militia and recognizes their necessity for the security of a free state; and, while it also recognizes that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, the Second Amendment is not the source of the right to form a militia nor to keep and bear arms. Those rights existed in the states prior to the formation of the federal union. In fact, the right to form militia and to keep and bear arms existed from antiquity. The enumeration of those rights in the Constitution only underscores their natural occurrence and importance.

According to the Tenth Amendment, ultimate power over the militia is not delegated to the Federal government by the Constitution nor to the states, but resides with the people. Consequently, the power of the militia remains in the hands of the people. Again, the fundamental function of the militia in society remains with the people. Therefore, the Second Amendment recognizes that the militia's existence and the security of the state rests ultimately in the people who volunteer their persons to constitute the militia and their arms to supply its firepower. The primary defense of the state rests with the citizen militia bearing its own arms. Fundamentally, it is not the state that defends the people, but the people who defend the state.

The second line of defense of the state consists in the statutory organization known as the National Guard. Whereas the National Guard is solely the creation of statutory law, the militia derives its existence from the inherent inalienable rights which existed before the Constitution and whose importance are such that

they merited specific recognition in that document. While the National Guard came into existence as a result of legislative activity, the militia existed before there was a nation or a constitutional form of government. The militia consisting of people owning and bearing personal weapons is the very authority out of which the United States Constitution grew. This point must be emphasized. Neither the citizen's militia nor the citizen's private arsenal can be an appropriate subject to federal regulation. It was the armed militia of the American colonies whose own efforts ultimately led to the establishment of the United States of America! While some say that the right to keep and bear arms is granted to Americans by the Constitution, just the opposite is true. The Federal government itself is the child of the armed citizen. We the people are the parent of the child we call government. You, Senators, are part of the child that We The People gave life to. The increasing amount of Federal encroachment into our lives indicates the need for parental corrective action. In short, the Federal government needs a good spanking to make it behave.

One other important point needs to be made. Since the Constitution is the limiting document upon the government, the government cannot become greater than the granting power, that is the servant cannot become greater than his master. Therefore, should the Chief Executive or other branch of government, or all branches together act to suspend the Constitution under a rule of martial law, all power granted to government would be canceled and defer back to the granting power, the people. Martial law shall not be possible in this country as long as the people recognize the Bill of Rights as inalienable.

Since the power of self defense and the defense of the state is ultimately vested in the people, there is no possible way that a Governor or the Chief Executive of the United States, or any legislative body can "outlaw" the citizen militia for to do so would rob inherent power from the people. If that were to happen, our entire form of government would cease.

Historically, we have found that the Governor's militia, that is the National Guard, is intended to reduce the need for the citizen militia. Simply, if the National Guard did its job in securing the state, the citizen militia would not emerge. That it has emerged so dramatically seems to indicate that the people do not feel secure. Simply stated, the growing threat of centralized Federal government is frightening America, hence the emergence of the citizen militia. When government is given back to the people at the lowest level, the citizen militia will return to its natural place, resident within the body of the people. Civil war and revolution can be avoided by re-investing governing power to the people.

To summarize: Citizen militia are historic lawful entities predating constitutions. Such militia are "grandfathered" into the very system of government they created. The Constitution grants no right to form militia, but merely recognize the existing natural right of all people to defend and protect themselves. The governments created out of well armed and free people are to be constantly obedient to the people. Any attempt to take the means of freedom from the people is an act of rebellion against the people.

In order to resist a rebellious and disobedient government, the citizen militia must not be connected in any way with that government lest the body politic lose its fearful countenance as the only sure threat to a government bent on concerting free people into slaves.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Olson. Mr. Olson, I heard you say on national television that you could understand why someone would bomb the Oklahoma City Federal building. How can you say that? How can you understand why someone would bomb a building and kill so many innocent men, women, and children?

Mr. OLSON. I don't believe that is the correct context, Senator Specter. I believe the context was when they were asking me about the dynamics that occurred following the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building, I was asked by Leslie Stahl and I responded that I understand what took place.

The Senator from Montana here earlier said that he understood why people hate their Government. I don't think it is uncommon for us to seek understanding because unless we understand a problem, we have no way of solving it. What I meant by that, and in the context—and you, Senator Specter, who sound-bited Leslie Stahl, and were wrong to do so, sir, should have——

Senator SPECTER. In what way?

Mr. OLSON. Would you please allow me to finish my statement, sir?

You should have received the whole context and allowed me to explain it. What I said was that I understand the dynamic of retribution. Revenge and retribution are a natural dynamic which occurs when justice is taken out of the equation.

Back in the Old Testament, there were cities of refuge. You who are students of the Old Testament know that those cities of refuge were placed in the promised land to allow a place for a person to run if someone's life were taken; that a relative would not avenge the life of that one awaiting justice. When justice is removed from the equation, then the dynamic of revenge, retribution, and retaliation will take place. I understand the dynamic, sir. That is what I meant.

Senator SPECTER. Well, all right, Mr. Olson, let's not deal in sound bites. Do you now understand why someone bombed the Oklahoma City Federal Building?

Mr. OLSON. If I understood why someone bombed the Oklahoma Federal building, I would give that information to the FBI. I understand the dynamic, sir. It is up to you to do the investigation, and I feel that the FBI, for some reason, has taken 7 to 8 weeks to find someone who is not guilty. I think it is about time that they started looking for the ones who are guilty.

Senator SPECTER. We will pursue parts of that later. I am not asking you for evidence as to who bombed it, when you say you would tell the FBI, I want to know if you understand why somebody bombed the Oklahoma City Federal building.

Mr. OLSON. That has not been proven that somebody bombed the Oklahoma Federal building. The fact of the matter is that one person has been taken into custody. There have been allegations made. He is an alleged bomber. I believe that we in the United States of America have to wait until the justice system takes its course. We are innocent until proven guilty.

I don't know why somebody bombed. I am saying that if someone were to be held accountable for that, and if that was the act of retaliation, revenge, or retribution, I understand the dynamic, sir, of that because justice has been taken out of the equation, and when justice is taken out of the equation, revenge, retaliation, and retribution will take its course.

Senator SPECTER. Well, whether it is singular or plural, the Oklahoma City Federal building was bombed.

Mr. OLSON. What are you looking for, Senator?

Senator SPECTER. What am I looking for? Well, I hadn't finished my question, but I will answer yours. What I am looking for is your statement about understanding why the building was bombed, whether it is singular or plural. You talk about vengeance and you talk about retribution and you talk about many factors, but what I want to understand from you is whether you understand, or, stated differently, think there is any justification whatsoever—given your comments on vengeance and retribution, whether there is any justification whatsoever for the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal building.

Mr. OLSON. Well, you are a clever attorney, sir, and I give you credit for trying to wrap my thoughts around your axle, but I am not going to allow you to do that. Sir, it has not been proven that that person did that, nor has it been proven that that was, in fact, an act of retaliation, retribution, or revenge. We still have to await the ongoing investigation.

It very well may be that there was a conspiracy at higher levels, people behind those people whom we have been fed by the press to accept or to believe that perhaps it was one angry individual. I say wait. Let's do the investigation. Let's wait.

Three days after John F. Kennedy was killed, everybody believed that Lee Harvey Oswald did it. Today, many of us doubt that he alone did it, and you are the single-bullet theorist and you believe that he alone did it. We don't necessarily hold to that opinion, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Well, if we can leave the single-bullet theory for another day—

[Laughter.]

Mr. OLSON. That is your choice.

Senator SPECTER. No. I will stay and discuss the single-bullet theory with you when the hearings are concluded, and I will be glad to do that on the record and in public. I am not trying to put any words in your mouth. I am just asking a direct question and I am trying to understand what you understand.

I cannot understand how anybody could understand why someone would bomb the Oklahoma City Federal Building as a matter of retribution.

Mr. OLSON. Well, then, you don't understand the problem that we have had in Northern Ireland, you don't understand the problem that we have had in South Africa, you do not understand the hatred and the retaliation and the retribution and the revenge that has been going on around this globe since time immortal. Then you don't understand the dynamic, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Well, Mr. Olson, I may not understand, and that is why we have had these hearings so that you could have a full opportunity to express yourself.

Mr. OLSON. May I make a correction for the record, too? Senator Kohl raised a poster a moment ago showing Hitler with his hand raised in the air. Sir, that is a copyrighted poster produced by Jews for the Preservation of Firearm Ownership. It is not the work of some militia organization, just to make that comment for the record.

Senator SPECTER. Well, we will pick up your comment about copyrights and about Jews in a few minutes.

Mr. OLSON. No, sir. I believe you are trying to lay at the feet of the militia some culpability, responsibility. You are trying to make us out to be something that we are not, much as the press has tried to do over this last year. We are not what you think we are. We are not what the press wants to feed to the American people.

We are people who are opposed to racism and hatred. We are people who love our Government and love the Constitution. It has been the design and the blueprint for governments around this world and we are proud of the United States of America, but the thing that we stand against is corruption. We stand against oppression and tyranny in government and we, many of us, are coming

to the conclusion that you best represent that corruption and tyranny.

There are millions, 40 to 70 million Americans out there on the other side of the Alleghenys and there is intelligent life west of the Alleghenys, sir, and I believe that you have to talk to those people out there. You are wasting precious time.

Senator SPECTER. Well, I am not going to interrupt you in any of your responses—

Mr. OLSON. And I am not going to go on preaching, sir. Go ahead.

Senator SPECTER. I am going to note you are interrupting me when I started to say to you that we will get back to your statement about copyright and about Jews. We will get back to that.

What I want to come back to at this moment is your statement about retribution and violence and apparent justification for it and—

Mr. OLSON. Yes. Let me—

Senator SPECTER. Now, wait a minute. I am not going to let you interrupt me again.

What I want to come to—and I want to have a full discussion with you, Mr. Olson, because I want your ideas fully exposed and the—

Mr. OLSON. There are other people on this panel, sir. They need to share in this; they need to share.

Senator SPECTER. Well, I know, but I am the chairman and they will have a chance to speak. I am not going to interrupt you at all whenever you start to reply. What I want to do is I want to hear all your ideas because I want your ideas compared to mine and I want to let the American public judge whether you are right or I am right.

When you talk about Ireland and you talk about South Africa and you talk about Oklahoma City, we are going to give you every opportunity to say everything you have in mind, and then I am going to say a few things and we are going to let the public judge.

I don't take lightly your comment to me that I represent corruption. I don't take that lightly at all.

Mr. OLSON. Well, let me say it again if you didn't understand what I said.

Senator SPECTER. I want you to prove it if you are going to say that. Now, the floor is yours.

Mr. OLSON. I appreciate that, and I would like to correct Carl Levin, also. He made some allegations and some statements that were absolutely fallacious. They are not true, and I believe that anyone who has the record of Carl Levin's statements earlier who would like to talk to us, we would like to correct those for the record.

Senator SPECTER. Proceed.

Mr. OLSON. There are many statements concerning the Fowlerville people. The Fowlerville people were not part of the Michigan Militia Corps. Just about every fact that he brought forth—he did not name places or times or dates or the context of those investigations. He, together with many of these people seated, and also the press before us—these people and you have tried to paint us in a different light.

Following the Oklahoma City bombing, Louis Freeh, on April 27, came out and said that the Michigan Militia Corps had nothing to do with the bombing in Oklahoma City. However, the press did not pick up on that. When you talk about, or when the Senators talk about, or Carl Levin talks about how terrible it would be to even consider that the Federal Government had anything to do with killing Americans, I submit to you, sir, that the Central Intelligence Agency has been in the business of killing Americans and killing people in the United States and around the world since 1946.

I submit to you, sir, that the Central Intelligence Agency is probably the grandest conspirator behind all of this Government, and I submit to you, sir, that perhaps the puppeteer strings of the CIA reach even into the Senators perhaps before us and perhaps also in the Senate of the United States of America.

Senator SPECTER. Well, as long as you say "perhaps," Mr. Olson. Senator KOHL.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would just like to read to you, Mr. Olson, a fax that you sent out on April 28 to the American people, and it said this: "The wrath of the country has been directed toward the brave men and women of the Michigan militia. Now, here is the truth. On April 19, 1995, a day that will live in infamy, the government of Japan, in retaliation for the United States gas attack on the subway in Japan, blew up the Federal Building in Oklahoma City." That is a fax from you to the American people on April 28, 1995. Would you care to comment on it?

Mr. OLSON. I have a 40-page document that I have prepared, a transcript of an audio tape, that is available to the press. We encourage the press to see me at the press conference this afternoon, at 3 o'clock at the White Room on the 13th floor of the National Press Club Building, and I will be happy to provide you with 40 pages of transcript. Do your own investigation.

Senator KOHL. Well, are you standing by that fax?

Mr. OLSON. I am saying that bits and pieces of information are conveyed and brought to the attention of the Michigan Militia Corps. We have established safe houses. We have established places of protection where people inside the agencies can come to us with information concerning corruption, and when they do, we take—

Senator KOHL. Mr. Olson—

Mr. OLSON. Sir, let me finish.

Senator KOHL. You haven't said it yet.

Mr. OLSON. I will be very brief. When they bring facts to us, we hand it over to the media to investigate. We do not have the resources or the wherewithal to investigate all of these facts.

Senator KOHL. You haven't responded. I said to you, will you respond to the fax that you sent out on April 28? It says, "On April 19, a day that will live in infamy, the government of Japan, in retaliation for the United States gas attack on the subway in Japan, blew up the Federal building in Oklahoma City."

Mr. OLSON. And I replied to you, sir, that if we wait and the investigation is done, I believe that we will find collusion between governments in the involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing if we will wait and allow the investigations to be conducted.

Senator KOHL. All right. Mr. Fletcher, as I mentioned in my statement, the Militia of Montana claims that there are, "lesbians, sex perverts, child molester advocates, Christian haters, and the most doctrinaire of communists heading the FBI and the IRS."

Now, Mr. Fletcher, with respect to the IRS, I have no quarrel with you. [Laughter.]

Mr. FLETCHER. So be it, sir.

Senator KOHL. But my friend, Louis Freeh, is a different matter. So I would like to ask you, are you suggesting that he is a lesbian, a sex pervert, a child molester advocate, a Christian hater, or a Communist?

Mr. FLETCHER. Well, first off, that is not my quote. For the record, we clear that, and I think that comes out of a singular book that we carry the same as the library carries, and that is the extent of that.

Now, those people that live inside the Beltway have to select their own friends and figure out what their sexual status is, and there is a huge variety at the highest levels of this Government in that direction. What I would like to point out, though, is that you bring up Mr. Freeh and an interesting thing has taken place, actually, almost 1 year ago, July 2.

Mr. Freeh was in Poland and he made a Nazi-related speech and it was a memorial to the Jewish camps and the holocaustic action that took place there, and he said an interesting statement. He said that what happened 50 years ago is not just history as much as it is a warning, and Mr. Freeh said that, in fact, at any time that any nation of the world starts to utilize local police with their Federal enforcement and starts to federally arm the police at a local level, as Adolph Hitler did as he slowly came in and did his outrageous acts back in 1940 and 1938—he said that any time we see this, it is an immediate red flag that that nation is probably moving into a dictatorship.

Well, within 1 single year, we start supplying local police agencies with armored personnel carriers. This, by the way, is just the sheriff's department. Those are not military. This is the sheriff's department in Everett, WA. These armored personnel vehicles are being supplied by Federal enforcing agents to a whole variety of local police agencies. This is exactly part of what Mr. Freeh was telling the folks in Poland and the rest of the world to be aware of as a sign of moving to a dictatorship. This is only one small part of that, sir.

This is what I would refer to as a terrorist. These are FBI enforcing agents dressed in their black outfits. This, sir, is an ATF agent in his black outfit. This used to be a terrorist. If an American saw this character going down the street, any American, 10 or 15 years ago, they would have shot this sucker because this is a picture of a terrorist. This is now the ATF agents.

We have questions, going beyond Mr. Freeh's point, of hundreds of flat cars of United Nations Russian equipment all over the United States. We have questions as to why the U.S. Army, with this document I have here, has put together the regulations to create civilian inmate labor prison camps inside military bases. Those are the questions. We have questions why, under executive orders, the

President of the United States sends \$200 million to build Russian homes for Russian soldiers overseas.

Senator KOHL. Thank you. I would like to just get on, Mr. Fletcher. In an interview with the Los Angeles Times on April 21, you told the Associated Press that the American Government has created weather-tampering techniques so that the New World Order will be able to starve millions of Americans and control the rest.

Would you explain what you were trying to say?

Mr. FLETCHER. Well, what I was trying to say is exactly what I said. There are weather-control techniques. We have a complete package on that which I did not bring, but I, certainly, will see to it that it is brought in for the record: No. 1, the entire patents on the equipment; No. 2, Senator Claiborne Pell's complete statement and story of his own that not only does it exist, but that we even utilized it as far back as the Vietnam war. You might want to touch base with Senator Pell.

Senator KOHL. That is all right, but I just want to repeat before I turn to—

Mr. FLETCHER. So, yes; but we do have all that information.

Senator KOHL. You are saying that the Government has created weather-tampering techniques so that the, "New World Order" will be able to starve millions of Americans—

Mr. FLETCHER. Worldwide.

Senator KOHL [continuing]. And to control the rest?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes, sir, and that is my belief, as bizarre as that sounds. If somebody had told me that that equipment even existed 10 years ago, I would have thought they were nuts, sir; and at this point in time we have all the documents to prove it. And if you think that 85 tornadoes take place in the middle of our growing area by simultaneous accident, I am sorry. The equipment that is already set up internationally—and as bizarre as that is, it is proven and documented. We will supply you with those documents.

As bizarre as that is, I would say that weather wars—and this is quoting, actually, Senator Claiborne Pell himself, that they are the greatest weapon ever created in the world, and that is the Senator's own statement. So, yes, I do stand on that.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Mr. Fletcher. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kohl.

Senator Thompson.

Senator THOMPSON. Mr. Johnson, whether or not one agrees with your statement, I think you gave a very thoughtful statement, thought-provoking, as to what you perceive to be going on in the country and the concerns. You mentioned the problems, as you see them, with our Government. You talk about the tax rates being too high. You talk about the Government being too big, too intrusive, and all those things, many of which many of us are also concerned about and are trying to do something about.

You talked about the British, our Revolution, and other places around the world. But, you know, we couldn't vote King George out of office. The difference between us and other countries is that we do have a democratic society and one in which huge numbers of people don't even bother to vote, but we have an opportunity to

change just about all of the things that you listed that are a problem.

I take it that you think that our system is broken down, our electoral process in some way has broken down; either is it not really free and open, or maybe we shouldn't go by democratic processes. What is your problem with working through the process to solve these problems?

Mr. JOHNSON. You know, there was an organization that I believe came out back in September and said that the militias' aim was clearly the democratic process itself, and my response to that was that our aim—our target was right on target right around November 8 when a whole new Congress came in here. Fine, granted.

Now, we advocate that more than everything, voting, but we seem to have a problem here during these campaigns when all of these wonderful politicians, God love them, say whatever they are going to say and they get inside the Beltway and everything is, how do we say, politics as usual. Now, what is going on?

As this trend continues—and you guys have to listen to this—you are pushing people's backs against the wall out there. We have got people out there hungry, like I was talking about, people out there starving, and people tired of getting terrorized by law enforcement. I will support law enforcement whenever they support the law. I will just call them enforcement.

They are getting outright economically terrorized, socially terrorized. I mean, the political correctness is getting out of hand. What this militia is now is it is a mindset. It is the civil rights movement of the 1990's. It is people sitting there with "don't tread on me" stamped across their foreheads. There are people drawing a line in the sand. That is what it is.

Nobody is going to go out there and shoot things. Nobody is going to go out there and blow up things. We are not baby killers; we are baby boomers. We are not terrorists; we are taxpayers. We are not extremists; we are just extremely ticked off at the way the Government is deviating away from what is going on around here.

When I say "we" as this militia, as this little covert group out there—no. It is everybody. Just because you say we are going to form ourselves a militia doesn't make you the militia. What we stand for here is the Constitution. That is it.

Senator THOMPSON. Let me follow up on that a little bit.

Senator SPECTER. We will be disregarding the lights. Senator Thompson may proceed as he wishes.

Senator THOMPSON. Thank you.

I take it, then, basically, you think the system doesn't work, that the problems are not being addressed, that politicians promise one thing and deliver another. You are not the first one to come up with that idea, I assure you.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is becoming a real general consensus around the country, sir.

Senator THOMPSON. And you, basically, believe that today that exists the way it always has?

Mr. JOHNSON. What exists?

Senator THOMPSON. That situation exists.

Mr. JOHNSON. I didn't say it always has, but today it is becoming more and more evident that it is existing.

Senator THOMPSON. I see. What do you see as the role of the militia in addressing that problem?

Mr. JOHNSON. Right now, the militia—I look at it as a constitutional safety net. What you have are these groups who are organizing themselves in a manner that the Constitution will be preserved, no matter what kind of action this Government or any other government takes. That is the little friction point you are going to run into there.

Senator THOMPSON. Well, that gets into another question, I suppose. Bad laws are one thing, and high taxes and that sort of thing, but when you talk about a militia, you don't organize a militia to lower taxes, I assume. You organize a militia that at least has some military capability. Is there concern that the Government is forcefully and physically going to move against individuals who are trying to assert their constitutional rights?

Mr. JOHNSON. You bet.

Senator THOMPSON. Is that the basis of the militia movement?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is not the basis of the militia movement, but that is a concern right now.

Senator THOMPSON. Would you elaborate on that a little?

Mr. JOHNSON. Sure. One of the things that was mentioned here earlier—I think Senator Specter mentioned it—he said were the militias a threat to the Federal Government? I said, gee, you walk outside 495 and the question is the other way around. Is the Government a threat to the militia? The militia is everybody. It is just that people form themselves a group for their self-defense and for their security, OK? It is not to wage war, but if a war is waged, these groups plan on winning.

Let me tell you something else, speaking of this. You are saying should this be looked into? It is a mind set. I was at a gun range earlier this year and they happened to be firing machineguns that they owned lawfully. We had people—I am talking law enforcement, I am talking military. We had a lot of sympathetic people in those branches who all were down there with their firearms and with the awesome display of firepower that I saw down there, and that was just one iota of it, OK?

I say this sincerely. I don't mean to direct this at anybody here, but a lot of people see what is coming down. They see some of the Executive orders that are being thrown at them, some of the statements that are being made directed toward the American public.

Senator THOMPSON. What form do you think is most likely for this warfare to be launched against the people?

Mr. JOHNSON. In what form?

Senator THOMPSON. Yes; I mean, you mention instances, obviously, that you are very much concerned about, the Waco incident and things of that nature, but do you see something on a more organized basis or more pervasive basis in terms of what the Government might do to the citizens?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, right. It isn't just Waco and Ruby Ridge. There was a survey out in Twentynine Palms, CA, in which military officers were asked, if necessary, would they shoot on Americans who refused to give up their firearms? In any other country, that constitutes a serious threat. The military is not to be used

with law enforcement, and there are certain inalienable rights people just aren't going to give up. This is the problem we face here.

Even if you say, hey, this is a real bad idea, these guys are a bad idea and we ought to just go stomp their heads in, you have got a problem because they are going to shoot back. I could tell when those other officers were up here it was a serious concern, even though, hey, we all want to preserve our constitutional rights, OK? If there are nuts out there, heck, we will probably find them before you do and turn them over to you.

But as far as the mainstream approach of this thing—and when we hear about some of the plans or ideas that they would like to see happen to us, OK. I have seen them take place. I am talking about Brunswick, OH. We had one gentleman who got his door knocked on and he said, no, go back and get a warrant. It is under the Constitution; get a warrant and get probable cause, OK? The result was he kicked his door in seven times, so this person with a legally owned weapon shot him. He said he was a police officer. If a police officer kicks down my door with no warrant and no probable cause, what am I supposed to do?

Senator THOMPSON. Incidents like that have happened throughout the course of history and will continue to happen. My question is do you perceive and are you concerned about a more organized, more pervasive effort by the Government against individuals or groups, or whoever, and what form it might take?

Could I ask Mr. Adams that question or maybe some of the others?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes. I would like to respond to a few of these things. I don't know that I necessarily perceive that the Government is planning some conspiracy, if you will, to attack the militias. I do have a question and would like a response. I know you might not be able to respond to me today. This goes back to March 25 of this year, and I know that some of you Senators are aware at least of the allegations, and that is what I would like to know, if they were allegations or if they were true, because this is the answer to your question.

There was an allegation that Attorney General Janet Reno was going to attack several militia leaders in this country on March 25. There were several Senators that wrote to the Attorney General concerning this and asked her not to do this. My question is—I don't know if it was going to take place or not. If it was going to—

Senator SPECTER. Going to do what, Mr. Adams?

Mr. ADAMS. To attack several militia leaders.

Senator SPECTER. Attach? You mean arrest?

Mr. FLETCHER. Attack.

Mr. ADAMS. "Attack" was the word—

Senator SPECTER. Attack?

Mr. ADAMS. Attack, yes, and I am not saying that this was going to take place. I am saying that I have seen the letters that the Senators have written to her. I have seen copies of them. They have been on television.

Senator SPECTER. Do you have those copies with you?

Mr. ADAMS. I do not, no.

Senator SPECTER. Would you provide them to us?

Mr. ADAMS. I will provide where you can get them. I do not personally have them, but I will do that.

Mr. FLETCHER. We have those and we will supply—

Senator SPECTER. Do you have them with you?

Mr. FLETCHER. No; no, sir, we don't.

Mr. ADAMS. So the question is I don't know if that was real or whether it was rumor or what, but I will say that it was a tremendous concern to a lot of people across the country.

Senator SPECTER. That they were going to be attacked?

Mr. ADAMS. That they were going to be attacked, right. Now, I personally could not believe that it could be possible in this country because we were violating no laws. As I mentioned earlier, we operate within the law and we believe in that. So if we were going to be attacked, it was certainly something very, very ominous to take place from our Government, but it was widespread enough that some Congress representatives did inquire of Ms. Reno about this.

Mr. FLETCHER. She did not respond.

Mr. ADAMS. She did not respond. We would like a response. If it was real, then, of course, we would really like to know why such a thing was taking place. If it wasn't real, then just respond to it and that is the answer. That is one of the problems, I think, that we have today, is there are a lot of questions with few answers.

You have heard a lot of allegations from people here today. Maybe they are real, maybe they are not. If they are real, then let's expose them. If they are not, then let's expose them, and that is why I think this is a healthy forum that we have here today because we have started some communication.

Senator SPECTER. Well, Mr. Adams, I know of no such proposal by the Attorney General to attack anyone. It sounds farfetched to me. If you have letters from Senators, I would like to see them.

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, and I do agree with you that it sounds farfetched, but the letters do exist.

Senator SPECTER. Well, let's see them.

Let us turn now to Senator Feinstein.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is my first occasion to be able to talk with militia members, so I am a newcomer and I listened very carefully to what has been said here today. What I gather from it is that, as you put it, Mr. Johnson, people are ticked off, irritated, annoyed, upset, whatever you may say, about a variety of things having to do with, "government," whether it is law enforcement or decisionmakers or anything else.

What I would like to have each one of you answer is, assuming this is correct, do you believe there are circumstances in which you can take the law into your own hands?

Mr. Trochmann, let's go down—

Mr. TROCHMANN. I am sorry. It is Trochmann, like the vehicle.

Senator FEINSTEIN. I am sorry, Mr. Trochmann.

Mr. TROCHMANN. No, ma'am, I don't. Nobody should be an island unto himself, nor a law unto himself.

Senator FEINSTEIN. So you believe there are no circumstances where individuals should take the law into their own hands?

Mr. TROCHMANN. There is one.

Senator FEINSTEIN. What is that?

Mr. TROCHMANN. When someone comes to destroy my family, I won't have a choice. If that were ever to happen, I would defend to the last drop of blood, and I would expect any other American to do the same thing. I am told that you have a concealed weapons permit, so I guess you probably feel the same way we do.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Well, let me put that aside. I do not have a concealed weapon permit.

Mr. TROCHMANN. Well, you recently had one.

Senator FEINSTEIN. No. I had one in the 1970's and I have not had one since then, after a terrorist incident that took place involving myself. That was the only time I had a concealed weapon permit, so I am happy to set that one straight.

Mr. TROCHMANN. Well, I apologize. I will have to go back to my California informers.

Senator FEINSTEIN. I think you will.

Let me move on. Mr. Fletcher, do you believe there are any circumstances under which you or your followers can take the law into their own hands?

Mr. FLETCHER. Commonly, absolutely not, and we do not at any time espouse that in any way, shape, or form. However, we are—and, again, it is totally as in the Militia of Montana. We are predominately educational in nature, and by that I mean that is what we do, mostly. You will not find us out in our camouflage and that type of thing very regularly at all. No, and at no time have we ever espoused any such action.

We are, however, a defensive kind of a concept, if you will, and I suppose there could be some bizarre situation like the unconstitutional suspension of the Constitution that might therefore appear that people are going to take things into their own hands, yes.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Adams.

Mr. ADAMS. There is no time for any people to go against the laws of their government and to take those laws into their own hands. That is totally unacceptable in any society, and we certainly fully agree with that.

One of the questions that was brought up about this particular meeting here today was, you know, how many people are involved with the militia, and I think in some earlier testimony that was kind of hard to put a finger on. I can personally tell you that from my office alone, we have helped establish over 1,000 lawful militia units throughout the country in all 50 States.

I know that all of these people that I have talked to and that I talked to throughout the Nation agree with the statements I am making right now that we must be law-abiding. The only exception to that, which I believe has already been stated, is for self-preservation and self-defense of our persons and family if an unlawful act were being perpetrated against us.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would say there would only be two occasions. The first one is, once again, if you come into somebody's house shooting.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Without a warrant and without reasonable cause?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, without a warrant and without reasonable cause, and it would be awfully nice—if they came in the house with

the warrant, it would be nice if they would knock politely. But other than that, I don't see a reason for using any kind of force to justify your actions. Of course, once again, you suspend the Constitution. For that reason, I don't have to recognize anybody in Federal law enforcement. If we are invaded for some reason and our Government is overthrown by a foreign power, we are going to have to take the law into our own hands to save it.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Olson.

Mr. OLSON. I would agree completely with what James Johnson has said, that there is no other reason to take law into one's own hands unless it is for the preservation of himself or the property, his family.

What we have done—and this is how I deal with the law, and I recognize the law and submit to the law. We have empowered and encouraged our sheriffs. We provide the evidence. This book that I would like to present to this Senate subcommittee is about 6 pounds of evidence that will conclusively show this committee the corruption in Government, and I would like the committee to have this book. Now, you who represent this Government, you who have formed this Senate body, and you who are concerned about the laws—now, this is the way that I deal with it. Here is the evidence. You carry out your responsibility for the law.

Senator FEINSTEIN. May I go on and ask another question?

Senator SPECTER. Yes; you may. Take whatever time you need, Senator Feinstein. Turn the lights off.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Thank you.

Mr. Olson, you are wearing a uniform and that uniform says you are a commander. What is it that you command?

Mr. OLSON. Ours is an organization of command communication. Serving in the military, we understand what is called command control communication because there is a control that must be exercised in the organized military. We in the militia have command communication in that we convey information down to the lowest level so that reasonable, intelligent human beings can make an informed decision.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Do you command people?

Mr. OLSON. No. I am a commander only in what is called a unity of command, so that a person reports to another person all the way up and down the chain. That is called a simple line of communication or echelon communication. There is no command control, ma'am.

Senator FEINSTEIN. What do these people communicate about?

Mr. OLSON. They communicate information. The information now available to the American public is extraordinary in that we are available now through alternative sources of news to convey truth to the American people. I believe that what you are seeing in America in the last 3 or 4 years is a phenomenon of informed Americans now waking up. A new conscience is building in America.

Senator FEINSTEIN. I don't mean to stop you, but I have got so many questions I want to ask you about what it is—

Mr. OLSON. Forgive me. I am a preacher.

Senator FEINSTEIN [continuing]. Practically, what is it you do. Do the people in your organization stockpile weapons?

Mr. OLSON. I wouldn't say stockpiling. No one should have more than they should need.

Senator FEINSTEIN. How many weapons does an individual need?

Mr. OLSON. It depends upon the threat that they perceive.

Senator FEINSTEIN. So is it fair to say that there could be unlimited numbers of weapons?

Mr. OLSON. Possibly. The old adage in the military is that accuracy is everything.

Senator FEINSTEIN. What do you do with these weapons?

Mr. OLSON. Prepare ourselves to defend ourselves, ma'am. We are not offensive. We are defensive, purely defensive.

Senator FEINSTEIN. So everybody is trained in how to use these weapons?

Mr. OLSON. No, ma'am. In the community that we call the militia, there are two parts of the militia: that which we call the patriot body—those people that are more concerned about information, seminars, videotapes, information—and then there is the militia who may be involved in the weekend maneuvers. That is what you see in the press, often.

What you don't see in this vast grouping of Americans concerned about the Constitution is the religious right, for example. They are very much concerned. The patriot community, the information community—they are very much concerned. What you do see is that small portion of people called the militia who exercise on the weekends.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Under what circumstances would this command operation that you have sanctioned the use of these weapons?

Mr. OLSON. Excellent question, ma'am. We will defer to the lawful historic authority, which is the county sheriff. He indeed is the commander of the local militia, and when a situation erupts in which we would be deputized—

Senator FEINSTEIN. Does he participate with you?

Mr. OLSON. No, he cannot, because, of course, of his political nature. He cannot always, but he is normally in support of—knowing the historic role of our sheriffs, in the event that the county were to be endangered, he could deputize a ready posse and he could form the militia to defend the people. That is what the historic militia is all about.

Senator FEINSTEIN. What would this county be afraid of?

Mr. OLSON. The county could be afraid of—for example, there are 53 Federal agencies right now that employ deadly force, that carry weapons and they can make arrests using deadly force.

Senator FEINSTEIN. But supposing they had warrants?

Mr. OLSON. That may not necessarily be what the county—the best interests of the people in the county. For example, our county sheriff does not know when Federal officials come into the county to search, seize or arrest until he sees it on the nightly news. We have a bill before our house, and we are trying to seek support for it. Perhaps you have heard of it, the no-more-Waco's bill, or the sheriff empowerment legislation, which would require Federal agencies to get permission from the local county sheriffs before they could come into the county; in other words, coordinate their activities with the county sheriff. There are, of course, some excep-

tions to that rule which would involve necessarily the investigation of the sheriff himself, for example.

Senator FEINSTEIN. I believe my time is up, Mr. Chairman. I will wait for the next round.

Senator SPECTER. Senator Feinstein, I don't think we are going to have another round because the votes start in just a few minutes.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Can I ask one other question?

Senator SPECTER. Yes.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Do you believe there are any circumstances in which an individual has a right to blow up a building? Let's start with you, Mr. Trochmann.

Mr. TROCHMANN. Absolutely not, Mrs. Feinstein; absolutely not. We are, plain and simple, a neighborhood watch, watching out for problems. When we encounter what we perceive as threats to a peaceful society, we do something about it. We alert the proper officials.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Well, let me ask you this: If you are plain and simple, why do I read constantly these violent quotes, this hatred for other people, this anti-Semitic, anti-black—I mean, driving people to have this intense fear and antagonism?

Mr. TROCHMANN. Would you like my black friend to answer that for you?

Senator FEINSTEIN. No, no, no. I asked you.

Mr. TROCHMANN. I am sick and tired of these questions constantly.

Senator FEINSTEIN. I asked you why——

Mr. TROCHMANN. We have gone over it and over it and over it, and if you want to blame somebody about it, take a look at the press. We are telling them one thing, they are telling you something else. I already addressed that.

Senator FEINSTEIN. So you are saying you don't say these things?

Mr. TROCHMANN. No, ma'am, I do not say that.

Senator FEINSTEIN. OK. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. TROCHMANN. We are all in this together.

Senator FEINSTEIN. So all those comments are wrong?

Mr. TROCHMANN. I am sorry, Mrs. Feinstein. What we are saying is we are all in this together. America had better put away its differences or we will cease to have a country. We shouldn't be your side and my side. We should all be for the same—the betterment of our country and our fellow countrymen. That is all I am saying.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Fletcher, the circumstances under which——

Mr. FLETCHER. The same answer. No, absolutely not. And I don't mean that your question is ludicrous, but it is a little bit, and I don't mean that as an insult. I don't think anybody could perceive that point in time where that would make sense, particularly if we are talking the housing of infants and that type of thing.

The press which Mr. Trochmann refers to shows Mr. Trochmann's face and one of the other patriot leader's face and the blown-up babies, and then just leaves it hang there, and that is—unfortunately, we can't sue for that, and if we could, it would look like the national debt in terms of the legal action.

As far as the racial thing is concerned, that is garbage. Those folks in the extreme radical fringes of the patriot movement, which is a cross-section of Americana, the same as the police forces. Ten percent of every police force is either racially motivated, racist persons; they are doing drugs, doing prostitution, or stealing on the side. It is probably the same in the militia movement because it is a cross-section of Americana.

We stand down from any hate kind of rhetoric whatsoever, period. And my wife of 25 years who is Jewish and Italian—my business partners for 4 or 5 different years were blacks, and my granddaughter is half American Indian. So if I am racist, I am doing a lousy job of it.

Senator FEINSTEIN. OK; thank you.

Mr. Adams.

Mr. ADAMS. We certainly in no way would ever condone, as I said earlier, any type of violence and, of course, that would include a bombing. I would ask each of you that as you watch the media report upon us—and you have probably seen many of our faces many times—listen for those words of racism from our mouth. You have not heard it. You will not hear it.

If we hear of anyone in our organization speaking of hate or speaking of racism, they will be asked to leave and never return because we do not condone it. The press will go out and find some fringe element out there that may say something, but trust me and believe me: It is not part of our mainstream organization. And, as I said earlier, there are going to be some people that will try to ride our coat tails because we are before the press.

My gosh, we are before you today and that is a lot of public knowledge. And they are going to try to grab some of that, and we will try to eliminate it wherever we can. But you pay very close attention to what the media has to say. Certainly, as politicians, you have been sound-bited and you know exactly what we are talking about. But you watch what we say out of our own mouth and that is what is true.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. First, it is a question about blowing up a building?

Senator FEINSTEIN. Are there any circumstances under which an individual is justified to blow up any building?

Mr. JOHNSON. After you have evacuated it and you wanted to cover up the evidence. Other than that, let me talk about the racist aspect now. It is getting old; I am getting real tired of being called a Klan member. I am getting tired of being called a member of the Aryan Nation group.

I spoke 2 weeks ago down at the Lincoln Memorial along with 2 other black people and the Jews for the Preservation of Firearms, and I believe there was somebody else Jewish who had helped organize it. The reports came out that a racist, anti-Semitic militia group held a rally at the Lincoln Memorial. Are these people blind or is there an agenda afoot here?

There are more black people showing up every day. A lot of the things that the people sit around in these meetings—these so-called right-wing wackos—and talk about happen daily in black communities, and black communities know this. The first people

concerned seriously about neighborhood house-to-house searches and seizures were over in Chicago. They were black. Good grief, almost half the people in Waco who got killed were black.

This movement isn't about guns and skin color. It is about liberty, it is about freedom. The same kind of legislation we are seeing down on everybody now came down on blacks just after the Civil War. That is why they are getting involved in this thing, and it is going to come eventually to somebody as you keep ignoring us and saying, well, these guys are just a bunch of angry white men.

Senator SPECTER. Pardon me for interrupting, but they have started the vote now, so we are going to have to conclude in just a few minutes.

Senator FEINSTEIN. If I could, Mr. Olson, would you respond to that?

Mr. OLSON. The answer is absolutely not; absolutely not. Our record stands for itself. The FBI will give you all the evidence concerning the Michigan Militia Corps on that question.

Senator FEINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPECTER. The vote has started, so we are going to have to conclude very shortly. There have been a lot of very serious charges made, and we would like specifications to the extent that you gentlemen would like to make them.

I would ask you, Mr. Fletcher, when you talk about other explosions in the Federal building and another John Doe, to give us the specifics. You have given us some materials. We will take a look at them.

Mr. Olson, you have made a charge regarding a picture of Adolf Hitler that what Senator Kohl held up—"All in favor of gun control, raise your right hand"—being Jewish copyrighted.

Mr. OLSON. That is from Jews for the Preservation of Gun Ownership [JPFO] out of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and that is a copyrighted document.

Senator SPECTER. And what is your authority that it is Jewish?

Mr. OLSON. A letter that came out in JPFO's newsletter about a month ago, and I will be glad to give you a copy.

Senator SPECTER. From whom?

Mr. OLSON. From the director of JPFO.

Senator SPECTER. Would you please submit a copy? We want to take a look at it.

Mr. OLSON. You will have it on your desk within the week, sir.

Senator SPECTER. I would be glad to get into the issue you raised about the single-bullet theory. If you want to write to me, I will respond to you in detail. I am sorry we don't have the time, as the votes are starting.

Mr. Adams, you have made a comment about the organization of militias in all 50 States, and I would ask this of you and of all the other members present if you would provide this committee, in writing, all the information you have about: Where the militias are, how many there are in each State, what their names are, what their membership is, what their purposes are, if there is anything in writing about them to give us some specification, to the extent you can, as to what weapons they have. I am not making any suggestion that there are any violations of law, but we would like to know as much, specifically, as we can about this question.

This hearing, I think, has been illuminating.

Mr. OLSON. Perhaps you will allow Ken Adams to give you a response to that question, if he will provide you with that in-depth information.

Senator SPECTER. I certainly would be appreciative if Mr. Ken Adams would do that. My own view, as I suggested in a brief exchange with Mr. Olson, is let it all come out, let it all hang out. Let's see exactly—

Mr. ADAMS. Could I respond to your question, sir?

Senator SPECTER. If you can briefly, the votes have started.

Mr. ADAMS. It is going to be very brief. You have asked for lists of people and lists of memberships and things of this information. I cannot provide that to you.

Senator SPECTER. No, I haven't asked for lists of membership or lists of people. I am not asking for that.

Mr. ADAMS. OK.

Senator SPECTER. I am asking for total numbers. This committee would like to make an assessment as to what the militia strengths are.

Mr. ADAMS. I will provide everything that I possibly can to you that will not violate personal privacy.

Senator SPECTER. We are not asking you for any individual names that you don't want to provide. We are not asking you for violations of any personal privacy.

Mr. ADAMS. OK. Thank you, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Trochmann, you had something you wanted to add?

Mr. TROCHMANN. Yes, sir. I can add that we will provide you with the numbers of the people that we work with and leadership across the country, concerned citizens. And it will stagger your imagination, I guarantee you. America is upset and we are avowed to help control them until we can find a way to solve this. Please be thankful that we are here. We love our country. We love our form of Government. There is no better on earth. We are here to support the righteous Government.

Senator SPECTER. I would like an answer from each of you, too, in writing, if you would provide it. Mr. Johnson said that there is only time between now and armed conflict. You have all said that you respect the democratic process and the ballot box as a way of changing our institutions, and the only limitation, when asked about violence, was essentially a statement about self-defense. To the extent that you know of any others who disagree and do plan violence, to the extent you would provide that to this committee, we would be interested to know that.

This is the first hearing that we have had on this subject and we will be pursuing the matter further.

Do you have something more you want to say, Mr. Trochmann?

Mr. TROCHMANN. Sir, we are already doing that with Federal agencies.

Mr. OLSON. That is correct, yes.

Senator SPECTER. Providing them to Federal agencies is fine. If you provide them to this subcommittee, we are interested to know, too. Because we are trying to make an assessment of the extent of the militias—how many people, not necessarily specific identity;

what their firepower is; what their purposes are; whether they pose any threat; and whether there is any justification for further legislation on the subject either at the State, local, or at the Federal level.

This is the fourth hearing which this subcommittee has held on problems of terrorism generally.

Mr. ADAMS. Could I make one real brief statement, very brief?

Senator SPECTER. Make it really brief.

Mr. ADAMS. I can assure you, sir, and all Members of Congress and all the people of this Nation that the militia does not constitute any threat to this Nation.

Senator SPECTER. Well, we have that assurance, Mr. Adams, but you will forgive us if we don't want to accept it at face value. We want to look further.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Specter, if it please—I wonder if we would be able to have an assurance that we would have an open door to get to you folks. Relative to the same fear that we have relative to a government that maybe the people are no longer trusting.

Senator SPECTER. You have an open door to this subcommittee. Any additional information you wish to provide to us we would be glad to have.

Mr. FLETCHER. Thank you, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Let me make one brief comment about a press advisory which I have just seen from Congressman Schumer commenting about these hearings. There will be follow-up and we would be glad to have any suggestions that Congressman Schumer might have. Please note that we had testimony from Rabbi Hier, the dean and founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, earlier in our hearings on terrorism, and a concluding statement that, at least my own view is that, a public airing of grievances that the citizens have is a very useful and very healthy thing.

There is in the Constitution beyond the more frequently quoted freedom of speech, religion, and press, the right of the citizenry to petition the Congress, and we are interested in what you have to say. Much of it, you have already heard—there is disagreement with the panel, and I would express that same disagreement. My own view is that whatever ideas you have, let's get them out in the open.

I believe, if I may say just one or two words in a conclusory fashion, that much of what has been said here today will fall of its own weight, but let's hear about it. I think if we hear you out, we may decrease your membership, but it is a free society. We all have a right to speak, and let the American people draw their conclusions. My own sense is that it is healthy and that America will applaud letting you speak your piece, no matter how much we disagree with you.

Thank you all very much.

[Whereupon, at 12:27 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

RESPONSES OF JAMES BROWN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR SPECTER

Question 1. Does law enforcement need additional authority for surveillance and infiltration of domestic groups suspected of terroristic activity?

Question 2. Is Federal legislation necessary to regulate or limit militias?

Answer 1. First, you ask whether law enforcement needs additional authority for surveillance and infiltration of domestic groups suspected of terroristic activity.

Answer 2. Second, you ask whether Federal legislation is necessary to regulate or limit militias.

ATF's responsibilities vis-a-vis militias are limited. As you are aware, ATF is responsible for the administration and enforcement of the Federal alcohol, tobacco, firearms, and explosives laws. ATF also investigates certain other criminal statutes related to ATF's activities, such as threats and assaults made upon ATF employees. ATF does not have any general jurisdictional responsibilities relating to terrorism or insurrection. Consequently, ATF does not investigate groups such as militias or anti-Government organizations. Rather, ATF investigates individuals (who may or may not be members of militias or other groups) who violate or conspire to violate the laws within ATF's jurisdiction, or who threaten ATF employees. Overall, we find our existing investigative authority adequate to investigate violations of the laws within our jurisdiction. However, we believe there is a need to expand the Federal surveillance laws to authorize the interception of wire, oral, or electronic communications with respect to violations of the Federal explosives law under 18 U.S.C. §842. This was proposed as one of the President's antiterrorism initiatives previously transmitted to Congress.

Question 3. Please related specific instances of violence committed by militia members in your jurisdiction.

Answer 3. Third, you have requested that ATF relate any specific instances of violence committed by militia members.

ATF has received reports from local law enforcement agencies concerning acts of violence by individuals who professed belief in the militia philosophy and conspiracy by the Government theories. For example, it was reported that a white supremacist, with militia sympathies, shot and wound a Missouri State trooper in September 1994, as the trooper sat in his living room watching television. The alleged motive for the shooting was the trooper's arrest of another white supremacist in June 1994. Recently, a known member of the Ohio Unorganized Militia was stopped by local police officers because he did not possess a valid license tag on his vehicle. The car displayed a homemade tag that said "Militia Member." The militia member told the police that he did not need a license plate and led the police on a chase. When the vehicle was finally stopped, the militia member emerged with a firearm and was shot and killed by one of the officers. The officer has reportedly received death threats from other members of the militia group.

ATF's own investigation have uncovered disturbing information. In March 1994, the execution of a Federal search warrant by ATF at the residence of members of an anti-Government group in Nevada resulted in the seizure of large quantities of hand grenades, assault weapons, and improvised explosive devices. The warrant was obtained after the local police responded to a call that shots were being fired and saw that the suspects were in possession of what appeared to be pipebombs. The suspects stated that they were declaring war on the police. Both suspects were ultimately convicted for possession of unregistered machineguns.

In July 1994, members of an anti-Government group in Virginia were arrested by ATF on numerous firearms charges. One of the suspects ultimately pled guilty to several counts of firearms violations. During the course of the investigation, ATF

obtained evidence which revealed that one of the alleged goals of the group was to eliminate police, political figures, and other individuals who opposed them.

In a recent case, a member of the American Citizen Alliance was overheard stating that there was a plan in place to kill Federal judges, congressmen, and agents. This statement was made while the suspect was purchasing 50 magazine clips from a Federal firearms licensee. An inquiry into the suspect's background indicated that he was a convicted felon and he was arrested by ATF. At the time of his arrest, he was in possession of a Ruger rifle with a silencer. The suspect pled guilty to possession of an unregistered machinegun. Several of the suspect's associates are defendants in Federal cases arising from their placement of unlawful liens against the properties of Federal district court judges.

Question 4. Please relate specific instances of anti-Semitic, racist, or white supremacist rhetoric espoused by militia members in your jurisdiction.

Answer 4. Fourth, you ask that ATF relate specific instances of anti-Semitic, racist, or white supremacist rhetoric espoused by militia members.

In the course of ATF's investigation of violations of the laws within its jurisdiction, ATF has become aware that there is a violent anti-Government movement in the United States which incorporates a wide spectrum of domestic groups. While these groups have diverse ideologies, a common thread is distrust and, in some cases, hatred of the Federal Government. Some anti-Government groups, such as the Aryan Nation and various skinhead groups, publicly espouse anti-Semitic, racist, or white supremacist rhetoric. While individual militia members may share these views, ATF has no examples of such rhetoric by militia members.

Question 5. In your opinion did the incidents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas, and the failure of Congress to hold hearing regarding these matters stimulate the growth of militias?

Answer 5. Finally, you ask whether the incidents at Rudy Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, and the failure of Congress to hold hearings stimulated the growth of militias.

Much of the rhetoric by militia members cites to the Ruby Ridge and Waco incidents, and it is probably safe to say that distortions and lies about the Federal Government's role in these incidents have been used to rationalize some militia activities. We do not believe the failure of Congress to hold hearings has in any way contributed to the rise in militias. First, there have been 8 days of Congressional hearings on Waco already and another hearing is underway. Second, ATF's involvement in the Waco incident has been the subject of an exhaustive independent review that produced a 200-page report addressing every aspect of ATF's role at Waco. Finally, the Waco incident was thoroughly and publicly detailed in the criminal prosecution of several Branch Davidians. That trial resulted in the conviction of eight Branch Davidians on various felony charges.

The fact of the matter is that those who adhere to extreme conspiratory views of the Ruby Ridge and Waco incidents have not been persuaded by any of the previous public reviews. The problem has not been a lack of public information or scrutiny.

RESPONSE OF JAMES BROWN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KOHL

In a previously submitted statement, Mr. John Decamp, an attorney who represents militias, writes "the militias themselves have been the victim of violence rather than the perpetrator or initiator."

Question 1. Do you agree with that statement? In your experience, have the militias been completely non-violent—in the "Gandhi" tradition of political protest?

Answer 1. No, I would not agree with that statement. Certainly many, if not a large majority, of militia members are nonviolent and are merely exercising their constitutional rights. Yet, there are documented incidents of violence perpetrated by militia adherents and adjudicated cases of members' possession of the tools of violence: illegal firearms and explosives. Also, in at least two of the adjudicated cases, it was reported that the defendants expressed the desire to kill political figures, judges, and law enforcement officials.

2. Many Americans—myself included—are concerned about the connections between some militia members and hate groups such as the Aryan Nations or the neo-Nazis or "the Order."

Questions 2. Are there connections between some militia members and these hate organizations?

Answer 2. There are connections among some militia members and hate organizations. The extent of these relationships is not fully clear at the present time. We strongly believe that many white supremacists are also members of militias, since both share a common tenet in both philosophies, that being virulently anti-govern-

ment. We know that literature disseminated by hate organizations now includes militia related rhetoric. We possess no evidence of hate organizations and militias actively working together to conduct illegal or violent acts.

3. It is my understanding that some militias have been tied to groups and individuals that refuse to pay taxes, yet they often have significant income due to video and book sales.

Question 3. Have any of you looked into the tax status of militia organizations?

Answer 3. No, income tax violations would be investigated by the Internal Revenue Service.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United State of America that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on this 25th day of July 1995.

RESPONSES OF NORMAN E. OLSON TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KOHL

Question 1. Last year Congress passed the Youth Handgun Safety Act, which makes it illegal for minors to carry handguns.

A. Do you think this act is unconstitutional?

B. Do you believe the ban on cop killer bullets is unconstitutional?

C. How about grenade launchers?

D. Can you cite any constitutional law professors who agree with you?

Answer to A. Yes, because it violates the 10th Amendment. For decades, the states have effectively regulated laws regarding minors in possession of firearms. "Federalizing" laws dealing with firearms feeds to the suspicion and fear growing in our country. Many federal firearm laws are in violation of the 10th Amendment to the Constitution.

Answer to B. Yes. The so-called "Cop Killer" bullets are no more dangerous than others. No "bullet proof" vest can withstand handguns capable of firing rifle cartridges or standard pistol cartridges converted into "specialty" ammo at home. The question of "Cop Killer" bullets is therefore mute if one considers that nearly any bullet can kill a human being.

But I think you are asking the wrong question. Although you didn't ask for solutions to your social problems, allow me to reiterate the standard logic of what I call "The Economics of Law and Order": that is, if the COST of the crime exceeds the REWARD of the crime, the incident rate of that crime will go down. Logically then, rather than banning "Cop Killer" bullets, why not ban Cop Killers themselves? I said before the committee hearings that, "The dynamic of retribution and revenge results when justice is removed from the equation." If our people, on behalf of a slain policeman, would quickly and severely avenge his death, fewer policemen would die. What can't we understand about that?

"The surest way out of this crime wave would be to punish the criminals, but, of course that's out of the question, that's barbarous and takes us back, as the hysterics say, to the days before civilization."—Will Rogers—September, 1925.

Answer to C. Sarcastically, I might answer, "Outlaw grenade launchers and only the military will have grenade launchers." Seriously, I am puzzled by your hyperbolic reach of logic and wonder if you really take seriously any of my answers. Allow me to reply in the same tone. "If you would do your job, people could own grenade launchers, howitzers, and mortars, and no one would be hurt by any of them!" I am puzzled why you chose grenade launchers? Why not the grenades? If you are so concerned about delivery systems then why not outlaw rental trucks. I am surprised and disappointed by the shallowness and sarcasm of your question, sir.

D. Senator Kohl, dozens of world and nationally renowned constitutional experts agree that federal laws limiting firearms ownership are dangerous and wrong and violate constitutional freedoms and guarantees. The attachment to this letter lists the opinions of just a few. Please contact me if you should want more.

Question 2 A. Do you agree with the National Rifle Association on most issues, or do you consider the National Rifle Association to be too moderate?

Answer. Since I am not a member of the NRA, nor ever have been, I cannot answer authoritatively. I do know that the NRA's president, Tom Washington, has many times stated that the Michigan Militia Corps is illegal and unconstitutional. Many members of the citizen militia are NRA members. It would appear that if they thought the NRA was meeting their needs, they would not have to join the militia.

Question 2 B. Do you or your militias meet with the National Rifle Association regularly, as some have suggested?

Answer. As mentioned earlier, many members of the citizen militia are NRA members. Those members may serve as instructors for militia units. As far as I know, the Michigan Militia Corps does not meet regularly with large NRA groups.

Question 2 C. Were you surprised that the National Rifle Association criticized militias at its recent convention?

Answer. No. Tom Washington has been critical of the citizen militia for more than a year. He has denounced the Michigan Militia Corps in the media and before members of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, warning MUCC members to not be involved with the citizen militia. He has also negatively influenced Governor John Engler to oppose the Michigan Militia Corps. My thought is that the NRA has become so political and so money oriented that they forget that their own beginnings encompassed all of the Second Amendment and not just the "keep and bear" portion. It's very sad, really.

Question 3. "From your statements and testimony, it is clear that you are very critical of the federal government and fear that the government is out to get you. But in the last decade, the presidency has changed from Reagan to Bush to Clinton; the entire Congress has changed from Democrat control to Republican control; and the Federal Judiciary is now filled with Reagan/Bush appointees." [based on this]

"A. Do you dislike Reagan and Bush and Clinton—three very different presidents—equally?"

Answer. The adage "the more things change the more they remain the same" would seem to apply. The limited democracy our Founding Fathers designed, carefully structured after the principles of a constitutional republic with tight reigns placed on an easily corruptible federal government, began to disappear in the 1930s with the creation of Social Security, the illegal taxation on income, and banking reform leading to a federal reserve bank with the subsequent destruction of our monetary system of a gold and silver based economy.

Your question "Do you dislike. . ." seems to imply that my measure of the presidency is based upon an emotional feeling of like or dislike. Unfortunately, that seems to be the great error of our times. Senator Kohl, it is not a matter of like or dislike, it is a matter of the Constitution. Rather than the emotional terms like and dislike, let's use terms such as valuable or worthless, or friend or enemy to the Constitution.

The answer is that no President since FDR has been a true defender of the Constitution, but every President since FDR has in fact allowed the illegal attacks against it to continue. The same holds true for the parties. Neither the Democrat nor the Republican party has been a friend and defender of the Constitution. In fact, while the Democrats move to a socialistic fascism led by elite "party favorites," the Republicans move to a nationalistic fascism of the aristocratic, monied elite. As long as the design of today's federal government is away from constitutional republic and toward totalitarianism and remains corrupted, it will not matter who is President or what party controls the houses of legislature.

Question 3 B. "Do you like the Republican controlled Congress more or less than the Democratic controlled Congress?"

Answer. Again, it doesn't matter. Since 1933, the Congress has been about the job of destroying the Constitution. No Congress since that time has had the guts or the clarity to repeal the unconstitutional laws which have weakened this Nation. There are no patriots or heroes in Congress, for if there were, the halls would ring with their cries of treason against the rest of you.

Question 3 C. "Do you dislike all elected leaders?"

Answer. As mentioned before, the words like and dislike have no place in the objective thinking of the Patriot. For example, there are true heroes and defenders of the Constitution who I may personally dislike, but who I would honor for their courage. However, my personal likes and dislikes have no part in my answers to you. But, if it matters, I dislike cowards. If a man or woman entrusted with the oath of government service violates that oath because of the outside pressures of politics, to me that person becomes a coward. So far, I have seen no true Patriots in the federal government.

As long as the Congress continues to amass power and control and refuses to give government back to the people, both houses will continue to be held in contempt by the growing millions of angry Americans. And because of your refusal to lead the way in cleaning up the corruption in government and return to the Constitution, you share in the responsibility, making you a coward for as long as you delay. There is no other measure for a Patriot than Hero, and courage is the only redemption for the coward. One can be "patriotic" but not be a patriot because those who are the "patriotic" people and lend only a kind of ho-hum "lip service" to the ideals of Liberty are really cowards because they chose to do nothing. The choice is yours.

I must tell you the truth. We are headed for a civil war of restoration and liberation in America. Once it begins, it will spread rapidly. I pray that constitutional patriots will be able to stop the fight at the right place once power is returned to the states and to the people. But history shows a different pattern. The people are very

angry yet the cause is not clearly defined since they are angry at the federal government broadly. Soon the breaking point will be reached and the resulting struggle will be a general rebellion against federal authority everywhere, bringing hardship to the land. I fear that it will be difficult to contain once it begins. The only hope we have in avoiding the outbreak of hostilities between the patriots and the "federals" is immediate negotiations. There are 40 million Americans who fear their government and perhaps three times that who are disillusioned with federal government. Your continued efforts to suppress the people through more legislation only proves their point that the federal government is the enemy they most fear today. You want to arrest us, wire-tap us, take our firearms away, kill our small businesses, unleash the IRS on us, turn the public against us, shut us up, stop us from assembling, stop us from training, etc. * * * and in spite of all of this, you still mockingly say "it is clear that you are very critical of the federal government and fear that the government is out to get you." Sir, I don't think you take this seriously at all.

The present struggle is complex. It is not a classic revolution since we do not want to form a new government, but it is a struggle to liberate the Constitution and to restore the government to its pre-1930s power and involvement in the lives of the people. We just want to be left alone. For starters, clean up the corruption, stop taxing our income and return the country to a silver and gold standard. You have pushed the people to their limits and the people will not take much more. We have begged, pleaded, and appealed but the tyrants of the federal government continue to oppress the people. IT MUST STOP. If you want to save this nation and prevent a hundred more Waco-like confrontations (this time against well-armed patriots), you MUST talk to us. Please stop playing game with us. You cannot win, and you will only make matter worse by angering even more Americans. Talk with our legal specialists, they are ready to talk to you. Listen to the 40-million-plus Americans who have had enough.

You seem to think that the ballot box will fix everything, but it hasn't. Why won't voting work? We have seen that both parties are equally corrupted and oppressive. The Democrats want to spend us into fascism socialism and the Republicans want to legislate us into totalitarianism. But neither effort will suppress the well-armed American people. We will not have it. Unfortunately, you in Congress haven't thought to come out of the "beltway" to talk to us. You would rather believe your "experts" who tell you that our numbers are small and that we can be easily defeated. Please, sir do not miscalculate. Don't make the same mistake we made in Vietnam and the Russians made in Afghanistan. YOU have made yourselves the enemy of the people. YOU will have to fix that.

Time is running out. The corrupted federal government is destroying this great land with the help of corrupted judges. The blood shall be on your hands if you fail to act. You have only two options. Listen to us or destroy us * * * we are not going to go away. Your only hope is to give the power back to the states and to the people immediately. We have people who can tell you what must be done.

Please do not attempt to cause a national emergency to throw the country into a martial law situation. We expect that you may try, but we have planned for such an event and have adjusted for it. Doing such a terrible thing will only prolong the suffering. The patriots are prepared to wait out a long period of difficulty, but the masses of confused and bewildered people who you have robbed power from cannot survive and perhaps millions will perish. Foolishly, they have taken the handouts and are weakened through their dependency.

Our Patriot leaders, legal people, and constitutional scholars are ready and willing to talk to the Congress. We have the answer to fixing this country, but you will have to listen. Again, time is running out. Please don't waste time and for God's sake and for the sake of America, don't do anything foolish.

ATTACHMENT

"The constitutions of most of our states (and the United States) assert that all power is inherent in the people; that it is their right and duty to be at all times armed and that they are entitled to freedom of person, freedom of religion, freedom of property and freedom of the press."—Thomas Jefferson

"A strong body makes the mind strong. As to the species of exercises, I advise the gun. While this gives moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise and independence to the mind. Games played with the ball and others of that nature, are too violent for the body and stamp no character on the mind. Let your gun therefore be the constant companion of your walk"—Thomas Jefferson, Encyclopedia of T. Jefferson, 318 (Foley, Ed., reissued 1967)

"The right of the people to keep and bear * * * arms shall not be infringed. A well regulated militia, composed of the people, trained to arms, is the best and natural defense of a free country * * *"—James Madison, I Annals of Congress 434 (June 8, 1789)

"As civil rulers, not having their duty to the people duly before them, may attempt to tyrannize, and as the military forces which must be occasionally raised to defend our country, might pervert their power to the injury of their fellow-citizens, the people are confirmed by the article in their right to keep and bear their private arms."—Tench Coxe in "Remarks on the First Part of the Amendments to the Federal Constitution", June 18, 1789 at 2 col. 1

"Among the many misdeeds of British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms, as one of the blackest."—Mahatma Gandhi

"To disarm the people (is) the best and most effectual way to enslave them * * *."—George Mason, 3 Elliot, Debates at 380

Jefferson said: "The strongest reason for the people to retain the right to keep and bear arms is, as a last resort, to protect themselves against tyranny in government." That's why gun control advocate and constitutional law professor Sanford Levinson, in "The Embarrassing Second Amendment," Yale Law Journal, Dec. 1989, grudgingly admits: "the arguments on behalf of a 'strong' Second Amendment are stronger than many of us might wish."

"Americans have the right and advantage of being armed—unlike the citizens of others countries whose governments are afraid to trust the people with arms."—James Madison, The Federalist Papers #46 at 243–244

"A free people ought * * * to be armed * * *."—George Washington, speech of January 7, 1790 in the Boston Independent Chronicle, January 14, 1790.

"To preserve liberty it is essential that the whole body of the people always possess arms and be taught alike, especially when young, how to use them * * *."—Richard Henry Lee writing in Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republic (1787 to 1788)

"What, Sir, is the use of a militia? It is to prevent the establishment of a standing army, the bane of liberty."—Rep. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Annals of Congress at 750 (Aug 17, 1789)

"And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms * * *."—Thomas Jefferson

"* * * the people have a right to keep and bear arms."—Patrick Henry and George Mason, Elliot, Debates at 185

"Those, who have the command of the arms in a country are masters of the state, and have it in their power to make what revolutions they please. [Thus,] there is no end to observations on the difference between the measures likely to be pursued by a minister backed by a standing army, and those of a court awed by the fear of an armed people."

"No kingdom can be secured otherwise than by arming the people. The possession of arms is the distinction between a freeman and a slave. He, who has nothing, and who himself belongs to another, must be defended by him, whose property he is, and needs no arms. But he, who thinks he is his own master, and has what he can call his own, ought to have arms to defend himself, and what he possesses; else he lives precariously, and at discretion."—James Burgh, Political Disquisitions: Or, an Enquiry Into Public Errors, Defects, and Abuses [London, 1774–1775]

[The American Colonies were] "all democratic governments, where the power is in the hands of the people and where there is not the least difficulty or jealousy about putting arms into the hands of every man in the country. [European countries should not] be ignorant of the strength and the force of such a form of government and how strenuously and almost wonderfully people living under one have sometimes exerted themselves in defence of their rights and liberties and how fatally it has ended with many a man and many a state who have entered into quarrels, wars and contests with them."—George Mason, "Remarks on Annual Elections for the Fairfax Independent Company" in The Papers of George Mason, 1725–1792, ed. Robert A. Rutland [Chapel Hill, 1970].

"To trust arms in the hands of the people at large has, in Europe, been believed . . . to be an experiment fraught only with danger. Here by a long trial it has been proved to be perfectly harmless . . . If the government be equitable; if it be reasonable in its exactions; if proper attention be paid to the education of children in knowledge and religion, few men will be disposed to use arms, unless for their amusement, and for the defence of themselves and their country."—Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York [London 1823].

"The difficulty here has been to persuade the citizens to keep arms, not to prevent them from being employed for violent purposes."—Dwight, Travels in New England.

"The right of the citizens to keep and bear arms has justly been considered, as the palladium of the liberties of a republic; since it offers a strong moral check against the usurpation and arbitrary power of rulers; and will generally, even if these are successful in the first instance, enable the people to resist and triumph over them. And yet, though this truth would seem so clear, and the importance of a well regulated militia would seem so undeniable, it cannot be disguised, that among the American people there is a growing indifference to any system of militia discipline, and a strong disposition, from a sense of its burdens, to be rid of all regulations. How it is practicable to keep the people duly armed without some organization, it is difficult to see. There is certainly no small danger, that indifference may lead to disgust, and disgust to contempt; and thus gradually undermine all the protection intended by this clause of our national bill of rights."—Joseph Story, Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States.

"What country can preserve its liberties if their rules are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance. Let them take arms."—Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, Dec. 20, 1787, in Papers of Jefferson, ed. Boyd et al.

"The tank, the B-52, the fighter-bomber, the state-controlled police and military are the weapons of dictatorship. The rifle is the weapon of democracy. If guns are outlawed, only the government will have guns. Only the police, the secret police, the military. The hired servants of our rulers. Only the government and a few outlaws. I intend to be among the outlaws."—Edward Abbey, "The Right to Arms," Abbey's Road [New York, 1979].

Subject: George Washington on Firearms: The Role of Firearms: Firearms stand next in importance to the Constitution itself. They are the American people's liberty teeth and keystone under independence. The church, the plow, the prairie wagon and citizen's firearms are indelibly related. From the hours the Pilgrims landed, to the present day, events, occurrences, and tendencies prove that to insure peace, security, and happiness, the rifle and pistol are equally indispensable. Every corner of this land knows firearms, and more than 99 %/100 percent of them by their silence indicate they are in safe and sane hands. The very atmosphere of firearms anywhere and everywhere restrains evil interference—they deserve a place of honor with all that's good.

When firearms go, all goes—we need them every hour.—President George Washington Address to the Second Session First United States Congress

"And that the said constitution be never construed to authorize Congress—to prevent the people of the United States who are peaceable citizens, from keeping their own arms"

The whole of the Bill [of Rights] is a declaration of the right of the people at large or considered as individuals . . . It establishes some rights of the individual as unalienable and which consequently, no majority has a right to deprive them of."—Albert Gallatin of the New York Historical Society, Oct. 7, 1789.

"To preserve liberty is essential that the whole body of the people always possess arms and be taught alike, especially when young, how to use them . . ."—Richard Henry Lee writing in Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republic (1787 to 1788).

"It is not certain that with this aid alone [possession of arms], they would not be able to shake off their yokes. But were the people to possess the additional advantages of local governments chosen by themselves, who could collect the national will, and direct the national force; and of officers appointed out of the militia, by these governments and attached both to them and to the militia, it may be affirmed with the greatest assurance, that the throne of every tyranny in Europe would be speedily overturned, in spite of the legions which surround it."—James Madison "Federalist No. 46".

"Who are the militia? Are they not ourselves? Is it feared, then, that we shall turn our arms each man against his own bosom? Congress shall have no power to disarm the militia. Their swords, and every other terrible implement of the soldier, are the birth right of an American . . . The unlimited power of the sword is not in the hands of either the federal or state governments, but where I trust in God it will ever remain, in the hands of the people."—Tench Coxe

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—Abraham Lincoln

"The best we can hope for concerning the people at large is that they be properly armed."—Alexander Hamilton

"The Constitution shall never be construed . . . to prevent the people of the United States who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms."—Samuel

Adams, *Debates & Proceedings in the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 86–87.

"On every question of construction (of the Constitution) let us carry ourselves back to the time when the Constitution was adopted, recollect the spirit manifested in the debates, and instead of trying what meaning may be squeezed out of the text, or invented against it, conform to the probable one in which it was passed."—Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Johnson, June 12, 1823, *The Complete Jefferson*, p. 322

"The supposed quietude of a good man allures the ruffian; while on the other hand, arms like laws discourage and keep the invader and the plunderer in awe, and preserve order in the world as well as property. The same balance would be preserved were all the world destitute of arms, for all would be alike; but since some will not, others dare not lay them aside . . ." Horrid mischief would ensue were one half the world deprived of the use of them . . ." —Thomas Paine, *I Writings of Thomas Paine* at 56 (1894).

"The right of the people to keep and bear . . . arms shall not be infringed. A well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the best and most natural defense of a free country . . ."—James Madison.

"Before a standing army can rule, the people must be disarmed; as they are in almost every kingdom of Europe. The supreme power in America cannot enforce unjust laws by the sword; because the whole body of the people are armed, and constitute a force superior to any bands of regular troops that can be, on any pretense, raised in the United States." Noah Webster in a pamphlet aimed at swaying Pennsylvania toward ratification—"An Examination into the Leading Principals of the Federal Constitution . . .", in Paul Ford, ed., *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States*, at 56 (New York, 1888).

If raised, whether they could subdue a Nation of freemen, who know how to prize liberty, and who have arms in their hands?"—Delegate Sedgwick, during the Massachusetts Convention, rhetorically asking if an oppressive standing army could prevail. Jonathan Elliot, ed., *Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, Vol. 2 at 97 (2d ed., 1888).

". . . but if circumstances should at any time oblige the government to form an army of any magnitude, that army can never be formidable to the liberties of the people. while there is a large body of citizens, little if at all inferior to them in discipline and use of arms, who stand ready to defend their rights . . ."—Alexander Hamilton speaking of standing armies in the *Federalist* 29.

"Besides the advantage of being armed, which the Americans possess over the people of almost every other nation . . . Notwithstanding the military establishments in the several kingdoms of Europe, which are carried as far as the public resources will bear, the governments are afraid to trust the people with arms."—James Madison, author of the Bill of Rights, in *Federalist Paper No. 46*.

"To preserve liberty, it is essential that the whole body of people always possess arms, and be taught alike especially when young, how to use them."—Richard Henry Lee, 1788, Initiator of the Declaration of Independence, and member of the first Senate, which passed the Bill of Rights. Walter Bennett, ed., *Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican*, at 21,22,124 (Univ. of Alabama Press, 1975).

"The great object is that every man be armed" and "everyone who is able may have a gun."—Patrick Henry.

"Are we at last brought to such humiliating and debasing degradation, that we cannot be trusted with arms for our defense? Where is the difference between having our arms in possession and under our direction, and having them under the management of Congress? If our defense be the real object of having those arms, in whose hands can they be trusted with more propriety, or equal safety to us, as in our own hands?"—Patrick Henry)(8) 3 J. Elliot, *Debates in the Several State Conventions* 45, 2d ed. Philadelphia, 1836.

"That the said Constitution shall never be construed to authorize Congress to infringe the just liberty of the press or the rights of conscience; or to prevent the people of The United States who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms . . ."—Samuel Adams *Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, at 86–87 (Peirce & Hale, eds., Boston, 1850).

"And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms . . . The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants"—Thomas Jefferson. A quote from Thomas Jefferson in a letter to William S. Smith in 1787. Taken from Jefferson, *On Democracy* 20, S. Padover ed., 1939.

". . . the people are confirmed by the next article in their right to keep and bear their private arms" (from article in the *Philadelphia Federal Gazette* ten days after

the introduction of the Bill of Rights) Philadelphia Federal Gazette June 18, 1789 at 2, col. 2.

"Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. Suspect everyone who approaches that jewel. Unfortunately, nothing will preserve it but downright force. Whenever you give up that force, you are inevitably ruined"—Patrick Henry [8] 3 J. Elliot, Debates in the Several State Conventions 45, ed. Philadelphia, 1836.

"Arms in the hands of citizens [may] be used at individual discretion .. in private self defense . . ." John Adams, A Defense of the Constitutions of the Government of the U.S.A., 471 (1788).

"... the people are not to be disarmed of their weapons. They are left in full possession of them."—Zachariah Johnson, 3 Elliot, Debates at 646.

"The highest number to which, according to the best computation, a standing army can be carried in any country, does not exceed one hundredth part of the whole number of souls; or one twenty-fifth part of the number able to bear arms. This proportion would not yield in the United States an army of more than twenty-five or thirty thousand men. To these would be opposed a militia amounting to near half a million of citizens with arms in their hands, officered by men chosen from among themselves, fighting for their common liberties . . ."—James Madison, The Federalist No. 46, paragraph 9, January 29, 1788.

"The balance of power is the scale of peace. The same balance would be preserved were all the world destitute of arms, for all would be alike; but since some will not, others dare not lay them aside. . . . Horrid mischief would ensue were one half the world deprived of the use of them; . . . the weak will become a prey to the strong."—Thomas Paine.

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been recognized by the General Government; but the best security of that right after all is, the military spirit, that taste for martial exercises, which has always distinguished the free citizens of these States . . . Such men form the best barrier to the Liberties of America."—Gazette of the United States, Oct. 14, 1789.

Firearms stand next in importance to the Constitution itself. They are the American people's liberty teeth and keystone under independence From the hour the Pilgrims landed, to the present day, events, occurrences, and tendencies prove that to ensure peace, security, and happiness, the rifle and pistol are equally indispensable The very atmosphere of firearms everywhere restrains evil interference—they deserve a place of honor with all that's good."—George Washington.

RESPONSES OF FRED M. MILLS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR SPECTER

Answer 1. I feel federal law enforcement does not clarification, in plain language, as to its authority to surveil and monitor groups/individuals who have a great potential to initiate criminal activity. I have enclosed a copy of Missouri's statute dealing with some of these issues for your consideration.

Answer 2. We are not aware of any acts of violence committed by Missouri militia members. My concern is for those radicals who will utilize the militia as the vehicle to spread their hate and violence.

Answer 3. At least one Missouri militia was founded by the leadership of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who openly call for the extermination of Jews and nonwhites.

Answer 4. In our opinion, the incidents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, did at least somewhat stimulate the militia movement; however, we realize many of these individuals look for "issues" to justify their radical views, hatred and discontent with the federal government and law enforcement.

41.010. Title of law—purpose.—It is the intent of this chapter, which shall hereafter be known as the "Missouri Military Code", to provide for the state militia and for the organization, equipment, regulations and functions thereof to conform as nearly as practicable to the laws and regulations for the formation and government of the armed of the United States. (L. 1951 p. 654 § 1)

41.020. Federal law applicable, when.—All acts of the Congress of the United States providing for the administration, control, equipment, government and organization of the armed forces of the United States, together with the rules and regulations promulgated thereunder, now in effect and hereafter enacted or promulgated, may be appropriate rules and regulations be adopted by the governor for the operation and regulation of the militia of the state insofar as the same are not inconsistent with rights reserved to this state under the constitution of the state and provisions of this code. (L. 1951 p. 654 § 2)

41.030. Definitions.—1. The word "militia" as used in this code means all the active and potential military forces of the state, whether organized or unorganized.

2. Whenever reference is made in the articles of Uniform Code of Military Justice to the "military service" or to the "armed forces" of the United States the reference is deemed to include the military service and militia of this state. (L. 1951 p. 654 §§3, 4, A.L. 1961 p. 479)

41.040. Military division of executive department—what constitutes.—The militia of the state of Missouri, which includes the adjutant general and his office, constitutes the military division of the executive department of the state government, under the direct control of the governor. (L. 1951 p. 654 §5)

CROSS REFERENCE:

Commander in chief of militia, Const. Art. IV §6

41.050. State militia, members.—The militia of the state shall include all able-bodied citizens and all other able-bodied residents, who, in the case of the unorganized militia and the Missouri reserve military force, shall be more than seventeen years of age and not more than sixty-four, and such other persons as may upon their own application be enrolled or commissioned therein, and who, in the case of the organized militia, shall be within the age limits and possess the physical and mental qualifications prescribed by law or regulations for the reserve components of the armed forces of the United States, except that this section shall not be construed to require militia service of any persons specifically exempted by the laws of the United States or the state of Missouri. (L. 1951 p. 654 §7)

41.060. Militia service, persons exempt.—The following persons shall be exempt from militia service:

- (1) Persons exempt from militia service by the laws of the United States;
- (2) Regular or duly ordained ministers of religion or duly elected church officials regularly conducting church services, or those recognized by their church as devoting the major portion of their time to the practice of religion;
- (3) Students preparing for the ministry in recognized theological or divinity schools. (L 1951 p. 654 §8)

41.070. Organized and unorganized militia.—1. The militia of the state is divided into two classes, the organized militia and the unorganized militia.

2. The organized militia shall consist of the following:

- (1) Such elements of the land and air forces of the National Guard of the United States as . . .

RESPONSES OF FRED M. MILLS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KOHL

Answer 1. We have no evidence that militias in Missouri have been the victims of violence or that they themselves have been perpetrators of such acts. To date, they have been nonviolent. To characterize the militias as a form of political protest in the "Gandhi tradition" is a serious mistake. They are not a protest group and their movement is not geared toward protest. We can describe many militia groups in their simplest form as a group of armed disenchanted people with a strong sense of duty, a belief in the duality of the Second Amendment in its most literal form and an extreme distrust of the federal government. Virtually the only similarity between militia enthusiasts and the Gandhi style might be in their use of civil disobedience as an avenue toward social change.

Answer 2. There is documented evidenced that some militia members are racist. Our own White Patriots militia in Northwest Missouri is comprised of members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, some of whom are also associates of the Church of Jesus Christian (Aryan Nations).

Answer 3. In our monitoring of militia meetings throughout the state, we have noted and collected written material provided by "We the People," a well-known tax protest group. We feel our local militias do not collect a great deal of money through book/video sales although they do offer these items at cost or on loan to individuals or groups. We are not funded, equipped or mandated to look into the tax status of these groups.

RESPONSES OF JOHN BOHLMAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR SPECTER

Question 1. Does law enforcement need additional authority for surveillance and infiltration of domestic groups suspected of terroristic activity?

Answer 1. In the incidence that have occurred in Musselshell County, and of the ones I am familiar with throughout Montana, additional authority for surveillance and infiltration is not necessary.

Question 2. Is Federal legislation necessary to regulate or limit militias?

Answer 2. I don't believe additional Federal legislation is necessary. Instead, individuals within so-called militias and other anti-government organizations should be prosecuted with existing laws when they commit crimes. In my experience these individuals frequently flaunt the law as the threat of violence if arrests are attempted has caused law enforcement to frequently turn a blind eye to their more minor criminal acts. This extends to Federal law enforcement as the leaders of the Militia of Montana make it publicly known that they do not pay federal income tax and consider that to be a voluntary tax only or an illegal tax. Similarly, the ringleaders of the "Freemen" in my part of Montana are all men who do not pay Federal taxes. One is wanted by U.S. Marshals and the other continues to live on property that was seized on paper by the I.R.S.

I believe there is a lack of cooperation between various state and federal agencies to share information and made an effort to locate anti-government activists for whom there are unserved arrest warrants.

Question 3. Please relate specific instances of violence committed by militia members in your jurisdiction.

Answer 3. Upon the arrest of John Trochman and other militia and "Freemen" members in Roundup on March 3, 1995, the Sheriff's office and my office received threatening phone calls for days. However, no violence actually occurred. As I related in my testimony, I believe that the first two individuals were preparing to commit a violent act in Jordan, Montana, against the county attorney there.

Since that incident, the local freemen have sent numerous threats to officials in this county, but no one has actually yet been a victim of violence. However, most recently the Freemen have issued written directives to their appointed marshals and constables to seize certain individuals in county and state government. As the Freemen had specific sheriffs and constables appointed in Garfield county a year ago when bounties were being issued there, I consider the latest directives (arrest warrants) to be serious.

Question 4. Please relate specific instances of anti-Semitic, racist or white supremacist rhetoric espoused by militia members in your jurisdiction.

Answer 4. Again, the activist in my jurisdiction do not call themselves "militia." The Freemen regularly espouse their conviction that northern Europeans are the true children of Israel. They also do not recognize women as equals and base this on their interpretation of the Bible. I have received written materials from the Freemen explaining that the "colored races" have no souls and are "beasts of the field."

Question 5. In your opinion did the incidents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, and the failure of Congress to hold hearings regarding these matters stimulate the growth of militias?

Answer 5. I don't think that the organizers and leaders of the militias and Freemen were motivated by the lack of hearings on Ruby Ridge and Waco. However, I believed that their recruiting efforts have benefited from the lack of such hearings. They have been able to use those two events for propaganda purposes, and have convinced some parts of the public that government agencies can act with disregard for human life and face no consequences. The Freemen, however, are not reacting to those events. Their focus is on resisting loan foreclosures based on their assertion that money is worthless, and that individuals with the right racial background are the sovereigns and that laws do not apply to them.

RESPONSES OF JOHN BOHLMAN TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KOHL

1. In a previously submitted statement, Mr. John Decamp wrote, "The militias themselves have been the victim of violence rather than the perpetrator or initiator."

Question 1. Do you agree with that statement? In your own experience, have the militias been completely non-violent—in the "Gandhi" tradition of political protest?

Answer 1. The statement by Mr. Decamp is so ridiculous it seems absurd to address it. I had the pleasure of reading Mr. Decamp's writings regarding the arrest of John Trochmann and six others in Roundup, Montana, and he never filed a single court document. Instead he wrote letters and memorandums to those involved and then submitted copies to the press. This allowed him to produce unsubstantiated wild statements without being held to the ethics of the legal profession. I would ask John Decamp for examples. In Montana, the members of the North America Militia repeatedly threatened a large number of public officials, including judges. Their director, Joe Holland, is facing criminal charges for sending letters to various public officials in which he stated that agents would be sent home in body bags. He is also accused of calling for a congregation of militia members in Ravalli County, Montana,

in order to retaliate against law enforcement for arrests made in that county. When the town marshal of Darby, Montana, attempted to make a traffic stop on a vehicle with no license plates, the driver of the vehicle drove to a home and ran inside. Within minutes, armed members of the North America Militia arrived and forced law enforcement to leave.

John Trochmann and the Militia of Montana claim to be protecting Gordon Sellner from arrest. Mr. Sellner is wanted for having shot a deputy sheriff a year ago. John Trochmann and a henchman both assaulted a reporter and cameraman from Oklahoma City while the two were on a public road.

Mr. Decamp might have been referring to the incident that occurred in Roundup, Montana, on March 3, 1995. Since sheriff's deputies acted quickly and aggressively, law enforcement was not the victim and no one was injured. However, Mr. Decamp likes to claim that the arrestees were the victims. My response to that they are unusual victims who travel over 500 miles to a small town and walk into the jail and sit in the jail parking lot carrying concealed weapons and talking on short wave radios immediately after their associates have been arrested with several assault weapons, over \$80,000 in gold, silver, and cash, cop-killer bullets, and a hand drawn map that marks the home of the county attorney and the sheriff.

Question 2. Are there connections between some militia members and particular hate organizations?

Answer 2. My own reading on this subject has led me to believe that these various hate groups and militias are very intertwined. However, I can't speak from first hand knowledge except to two points. First, the Freemen are openly racist. Second, one of the sheriff's deputies here in Musselshell County has had two conversations with Randy Trochman of the Militia of Montana wherein Randy Trochman repeatedly insisted that an educated man should be able to see the so-called Holocaust a hoax that never happened and that the hoax is perpetuated by Jews who want to take advantage of any opportunity that this hoax may give them.

It is important to keep in mind that the militias deliberately organize in "cells" to protect themselves from being directly connected to each other or any other organization. This is a common terrorist technique and the Trochman's are known throughout the militia movement as experts in how to organize "cells."

Question 3. Have any of you looked into the tax status of militia organizations?

Answer 3. I have not had a direct opportunity to look into the tax status of militia organizations. However, when they are not claiming to be ordinary citizens, the Trochmans state that they only pay "legal" taxes which are property and excise taxes. Like many others in the militias, they claim that the Federal income tax is either voluntary or was never legally enacted. The Freemen deny that any tax is legal. I am enclosing a wanted poster of one of the two major leaders of the Freemen in Montana. This is the poster for LeRoy Schweitzer who lives here in Musselshell County in the home of Rodney Skurdal. Mr. Skurdal's home was seized more than a year ago for failure to pay taxes. However, Mr. Skurdal, Mr. Schweitzer, and a Dan Peterson remain in the home and continue to direct the anti-government activities of the Freemen. Rest assured that the U.S. Marshals know exactly where LeRoy Schweitzer is. The fact that the responsible federal agencies are letting people who do not pay income taxes go unpunished is adding to the problem. This hands-off behavior lends credibility to their claim that income tax is a voluntary tax, and it encourages others to buy into the philosophy being espoused.

Several gansters have been brought to justice through income tax laws and I do not understand why the same laws are not being used today to protect the citizenship of this country from the leaders of the so-called militias and other anti-government terrorists.

ADDITIONAL SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

UNITED STATES MILITIA ASSOCIATION

Senator LARRY CRAIG,
313 Heart Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20510.
c/o Brooke Roberts

DEAR SENATOR CRAIG: Thank you for the opportunity to respond to you, and Senator Spector's hearings on the Militia movement in America. The militia was originally defined by George Mason, a founder of this nation, as "the body of the whole of the people." The second Amendment to our constitution says: "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Since arms are not defined solely as guns, but as weapons, I would like to know just what perfidy is going on in Washington among the Congress regarding "A well regulated Militia" and its right "to keep and bear arms"? Just what part of "shall not be infringed" is it that Congress does not understand?

I think it is my duty, since Senator Spector and others do not understand the Constitutional language of "shall not be infringed," to use language that is more plain and simple that he and his fellow Senators will understand.

Mr. Spector, if you and Congress pass the bills currently pending before Congress known as HR 666, the Anti-Terrorist Bill, and the Anti-Militia Bill, you and your colleagues need to know that we the body of the whole of the people, known in the second amendment as the Militia, will not give up our guns, ammunition, or submit to such tyranny, and there will be bloodshed in the streets of America like never before. The Civil War, the numerous riots during the 1960's-1970's, and recent riots in Los Angeles, will be only the merest hint of the calamity that will befall this nation such that it may well not survive intact as a united Republic.

If you pass these three bills, you will see revisited in America the occasion of Ruby Ridge a second, third, fourth and fifth time, and more. You will see Waco revisited a second and third time. And you will see an event much like the brave stand at the Alamo where a handful of militia stood valiantly to their deaths against a tyrant. You need to know these things are grind to happen as a result of your direct actions in support of these bills, and you will be personally and collectively responsible for those events.

We decry such threat to this nation and its civil peace through such legislative efforts, and ask you in all solemnity to reconsider your actions. Those who have advised you that this type of legislation will be good for America have advised you to take a course that many millions of Americans deem to be foolhardy in the least and treason in the main. We view your actions in this matter essentially similar to those of Parliament in the passage of the Intolerable Acts which you may remember was the final straw in determining whether there would be peace in the colonies or war. Your actions now determine the same fate for America.

Though we in the USMA decry all acts of violence, (see the attached policy of the USMA) as a destructive action which does not at anytime produce the desired results of establishing peace or maintaining security within the nation. There is a time in which, a man of conscience must say that he can not stand idly by and watch his fellow citizens be gunned down by a tyrannical government bureaucracy. I do not know what our tolerance level for "blood and body bags full of patriots" is, but I know that it is not very great among the membership which I represent.

I, and my membership, implore you, please reconsider your actions now while the ability to talk in peace is still a possibility. After a re-visitation of Ruby Ridge, Waco, or the Alamo occurs in this nation, no one will be in the mood to talk about this conflict in a spirit of peace and conciliation. The hearing which you had recently was only a sham, a show trial for publicity, but saw no substantial exposure of the principles involved in this ideological conflict.

We suggest that a full slate of hearings be convened as soon as possible that would take at least as long as a week, a full 8 hours per day. This would allow for

the various major groups to come forward and provide a full disclosure of their grievances, as well as be thoroughly questioned as to their proposals regarding solutions. In this way, at least we will both have tried to communicate with each other and determine if there is a common political ground that we can both move to before we move to the battle ground, and avert a second civil war that could well put an end to this nation.

Thank you,

M. SAMUEL SHERWOOD, *National Director.*

POLICY REGARDING MEMBERS BEHAVIOR TOWARDS LAW-ENFORCEMENT

First: It behooves all citizens of a nation created by such noble and just laws and based upon such high and lofty principles to do everything with their power to maintain, preserve, protect, and defend such system of government while protected in their rights.

Second: It is incumbent upon the citizen to be obedient to the laws created, be they just or unjust, while engaged in these efforts to maintain such valued government. We can not presume that we are upholding the lofty ideals and principles of the government we so much profess to love, by ignoring any and all laws we may choose at any time; by being insulting, rude, capricious, arbitrary, argumentative, and abusive to the bureaucratic servants of elected officials; or by threatening such duly elected officials, or governmental employees.

Third: The greatest gift given us by our Founding Fathers, the Constitution, and a protection to the rights of the people is the process given us by our Founders that we might protect those God given rights. If we violate the process given us we have already become anarchists to the Constitution and its guarantees. We literally invite upon us the wrath of lex regia, Martial Law. Martial Law is also known as administrative, maritime, or admiralty law, all of which means disaster for Common Law and Natural Law. Martial Law is literally the rule by edict of the regent, and his military. We do no good to the nation to depose of the Common Law upon which this nation was based, and its remaining vestiges of protection, by actions which bring about Martial Law and dictatorial edicts.

Fourth: We claim the right as citizen's to protect this nation, its Constitution, and the processes of government, and admonish all our members to conduct all of their affairs according to the codes and statutes as defined, and as they understand them, be they, in the individuals opinion, just or unjust. It is only through the process of suffering unjust edict and code that we can bring this suffering to the attention of our fellow citizens and enlist their aid in curing these obnoxious and oppressive laws for the betterment of all without anarchy, further oppression, or bloodshed.

MISSION STATEMENT

The United States Militia Association is organized for the purpose of returning America to the organizational structure, function and purpose of the organic "Original Constitution" with the Bill of Rights secure and intact for all citizens regardless of race, religion, or political persuasion.

We believe . . .

We believe that all men are created equal, by God, who gives all mankind inherent and inalienable rights, and that the proper role of government is limited to the protection of those rights.

We believe that God holds nations, and its citizens individually, accountable for the protection of those God-given inalienable and inherent rights.

We believe in the sanctity of life, liberty and property; further, that a citizen has the right of self defense, and therefore the collective defense, of the same, as the sovereign of this nation.

We believe it is the responsibility of every citizen to maintain and protect this nation from all enemies, foreign and domestic, while protected in their God given rights.

Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.—Ecclesiastes 12:13.

APR 28 '95 10:15 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS PAGE.812

NEW MATERIALS FROM:

P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, MT 59853
406-847-2246 v/fax, or, 2735

THE MILITIA OF MONTANA

From the period of December 2nd through December 11, the Militia of Montana and Mark Koernke toured Montana and Washington. We had a great time with Mark, with lots accomplished during the week and a half stayed with us.

TAPE NUMBER 160: \$15.00

(December 2, 1994)

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON PRESENTATION

This is a full 2 hour presentation. Mark gave an excellent one and half hour talk to this crowd from Idaho, Oregon and Washington. John Trochmann and Bob Fletcher, from M.O.M., joined Mark in a half hour question and answer session. Excellent Video.

TAPE NUMBER 161: \$45.00 (three tape set)

(December 11, 1994)

NOXON, MONTANA SEMINAR

Approximately five and half hours. Two presentations by Mark Koernke and one presentation each by John Trochmann and Bob Fletcher, from M.O.M. Two separate question and answer sessions were also held involving Mark, John and Bob. This was a fabulous seminar that covered an incredible amount of subjects.

SPECIAL THROUGH MARCH 1, 1995

For a limited time only we will be offering all four tapes for only **\$40.00**. That's a **\$20.00** savings off of the regular price. Get all of the latest updates on what is happening to America, TODAY! Remember this special ends February 1, 1994. (No other specials, discounts, etc. may be taken with this Special ~ Thank you M.O.M.)

THE BLUE BOOK - \$75.00

This is a one of a kind speakers manual. The in-house book for M.O.M. All of the documentation of how America's sovereignty is being stripped is in this book. Over two dozen colored photocopies of pictures of UN/Foreign Equip., underground FEMA facility, etc. This book has an amazing array of Government Documents outlining policy, directives and laws. This is the book M.O.M. uses for presentations, t.v. interview radio interviews, etc. Some of the most amazing and incredible stuff we can get our hands on is in this book.

These are put together by hand in a three-ring hard cover binder, with each document and picture placed in a plastic insert for protection. Because of the amount of time to put one of these together and in order to make sure each book is current with the latest documents, we ask that you give us up to two weeks for shipment. These are put together on a per order basis. If you need this in a hurry, give us a call so we have time to get started on your book. Thank you, M.O.M.

APR 26 '95 10:09

FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS

PAGE.002



**Militia of Montana,
Sanders County, Unit Alpha**

New Materials Update



VIDEO TAPES

Tape No. 101: "AMERICA IN PERIL" - \$10.00

By Mark Koernke, U.S. Military Intelligence - - - Regarding the conditions in the U.S. and **EXPOSING** the plans that have been implemented, being implemented, and to be implemented against an unsuspecting public. Such as, M.J.T.F. and Fincen forces in the U.S. Mark also tells you how to prepare for what is coming in the very near future. 2 hours.

Tape No. 102: "A CALL TO ARMS" - \$10.00

By Mark Koernke: Another **EXCELLENT** video by Mark - - - Mark does not mix words, nor hold back as to what is in store for every man, woman, and child in the U.S.A. He also brings you up to date as to what is happening in this country and more on how to prepare for what is coming. **SURPRISING PHOTOS** of a future holding and separating facility for government **DISSENTERS**. 2 hours.

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By Linda Thompson: "**FREE**" when you order the two video tapes above. This is an excellent tape on what really happened at the siege in Waco, Texas.

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Just what it says + you get **FREE** another excellent video on preparing, back packing, and other equipment.

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Documentary detailing the events at the siege near Naples, Idaho. Rare video footage from the Federal staging area and more. Get a part of history that started to bring the people of this country together. Remember Randy Weaver.

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Breaking the Law in the Name of the Law. A video documentary exposing the harrassment and intimidation tactics by Government agents. Shocking truth about the obvious **ANTI-GUN** mentality of the government. By Gun Owners of America

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A video presentation on our public and private school teaching curriculums, government involvement, and their new super information highway system. A must for everyone to see.

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A documentary on Freedom and Justice. Intrusion into church, schools and the family by the world conspirator (new world order). 1 hour.

APR 26 '83 10:10 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS PAGE.003

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Tape No. 111: THE TRUTH IN OLD BOOKS - \$15.00

Startling information taken from old books. Shows how we have been duped. The Becker family goes through hundreds of books that are century's old. This tape brings out the truths that are hidden from the people. 4 hours.

Tape No. 112: FOR LACK OF TRUTH - \$10.00

Continuation of the truth in old books. Showing the common sense of our Fore Fathers and the founding of this country. This tape will help bring you up to date on what the government has hidden from you. 2 hours.

Tape No. 113: WACO - THE KEN FANCETT THEORY - \$10.00

Thought provoking video with live satellite coverage, uncut, which shows the initial raid. This video shows actual documents to prove the ATF had no jurisdiction and authority to do what they did near Waco, Texas. 1 hour.

Tape No. 114: MARK AND FRIENDS: Part I - \$10.00

An exclusive video from a meeting at Mark Koernke's house where approximately 45 of his Generals from their Militia gathered for a heavy discussion on new intelligence, strategy, etc concerning the NWO. 45 minutes. (Part II not yet available)

Tape No. 115: JACK THOMPSON ON JANE "BUTCH" RENO - \$10.00

Reno is a flaming lesbian! States the attorney who ran against her for the office of States Attorney in Dade County Florida. Jack tells about 25 witnesses who were denied the opportunity to testify before the senate committee. Police officers etc. "...caught her in the act." 1 hour 30 minutes.

Tape No. 116: THE TEN PLANKS - \$10.00

The ten planks of the communist manifesto explained in clear and entertaining fashion. Conclusion is evident. Most of us in America are already practicing communists! "Good tape to get your NON-THINKING friends THINKING!"

Tape No. 117: THE HIDDEN AGENDA - \$10.00

Merging America into World Government, as told by Norman Dodd, Congressional investigator of tax-exempt foundations. Shocking revelations from a REAL INSIDER EXPERT.

Tape No. 118: LUCIFER 2000 - \$10.00

Jordan Maxwell and Antony Hilder from Radio Free World discuss the plans of the secret conspiracy and scheme for SATANIC WORLD ORDER planned for the year 2000. Explains the occult and Illuminati influences and meeting at the Great pyramid.

**Tape No. 119: NEW WORLD ORDER LAND AND FARM CONFISCATION
\$10.00**

Lecture on the hows and whys behind land confiscation by government (your tax money at work) Make sure your farm friends see this.

**Tape No. 120: JACK McLAMB ON POLICE AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER
\$10.00**

This famous and great ex-cop publishes the Aid and Abet newsletter in Phoenix and is the expert on NWO training and plans to use our police in FEMA planned take over of America.

SEE CHIPS IN BOX Room 17 5001**Tape No. 324: THE PESTILENCE (AIDS) - \$15.00**

Are you ready to finally hear and see all the answers to questions you have regarding AIDS. This video will reveal how AIDS was created, who is responsible and why. Also the "GLOBAL 2000 PLAN" to EXTERMINATE TWO BILLION PEOPLE by the year 2000. You will never forget this stunning presentation. 2 hours.

AUDIO TAPES - All audio tapes only \$3.00 each

Tape No 201: "Linda Thompson and Mike Benn"

Mr. Benn tells about the HELICOPTER ROCKET ATTACK on his neighbors house in Dallas, Texas on January 11, 1994 at 6:40 A.M. This is an ASTONISHING account of what happened. "NEVER IN AMERICA"??? Plus Linda Thompson updates us on what is going on in the good old U.S. of A.

Tape No. 202: "For the People"

John Trochmann explains what happened to Andy Peroni when the FEDS RAIDED him near Trout Creek, Montana; also hear how the U.S. Forest Service headed the SET-UP against Andy and the U.S.F.S.'s new role in law enforcement; plus more info on the Weavers.

Tape No. 203: "Emergency Food Storage"

Just what it says. EXCELLENT tape. Jack West explains how simple it can be.

Tape No. 204: "Mind Control"

Who controls the United States and the United Nations: New World Order. Regional and Super State Government. Social Engineering and the NEW DARK AGE.

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An EXPLOSIVE investigation that tracks down, confronts and calls the names of Establishment thieves who elegantly steal the American vote for their own profit. Explains how Ruth Ginsburg (Supreme Court Justice) and Janet Reno got their jobs; plus, computer wizards, CIA operatives, etc. COULD THIS BE HAPPENING IN YOUR STATE, COUNTY OR CITY ELECTIONS? CHECK IT OUT!

BIG SISTER IS WATCHING YOU - \$12.00

Hillary's Hell-Cats, or if you like - Gores Whores. They are unlike anything the world has ever experienced. They're ruthless, shrewd and calculating - and they've got a stranglehold on the White House. Recruited and empowered by their boss, Hillary, these are the women who tell Bill Clinton what to do.

Hillary's regiment of hardened, militant feminists include, lesbians, sex perverts, child molestor advocates, Christian haters, and the most doctrinaire of communists. One heads the FBI, another the IRS. Five are members of the Trilateral Commission and the CFR, subversive organizations whose goal is to end American sovereignty and bring about a global Marxist paradise.

George Orwell's prophetic novel, 1984, warned us about Big Brother. Now, in the bizarre 1990's, it's time to "MOVE OVER BIG BROTHER...YOUR MEANER BIG SISTER IS MOVING IN!!!"

APR 26 '95 10:11 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS

PAGE.005

H.O.M. C/O P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, MT 59853

INTRODUCING

TAKING AIM - The Newsletter
By: MOM, Sanders County, Unit Alpha

Taking Aim is a new project that MOM has decided to take on. Taking Aim will do just what it means and more. Taking Aim will take aim at the NWO (new world order) conspirators and how they intend and are taking away the rights of the people. This newsletter will keep you up to date on the activities of the conspirators and will also keep you informed of the activities of other organizations who are fighting for all of our rights.

Taking Aim will have feature articles designed to show you how to prepare for the coming NWO: Such as "FOOD STORAGE"; "HOW TO MAKE A CACHE"; "PROPER WEAPONS STORAGE", "MEDICAL SUPPLIES", etc. If you do not know the proper steps and procedures to do these things then this newsletter is for you. These articles will consist of all of the things a Militiaman needs to know.

Taking Aim will also keep you up to date on U.N. troop movements, Federal Attacks, mysterious Black Helicopter harassments and sightings, etc.

Of course Taking Aim will continue to offer the latest material (video and audio tapes, books, etc.) at the lowest cost possible.

The following is a sample of Taking Aim:

"A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."

TAKING AIM

By:

MOM, C/O P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, MT. 59853

FEATURE ARTICLE**THE MILITIA**

Most people today believe that the National Guard is the Militia reserved to the states in Constitutions of the states and the United States of America. Nothing could be further from the truth.

To begin with, the National guard did not even exist in 1775, 1787, 1791 or even all...

What has happened in nations where the militia once existed and then was disbanded. We do not here of little East Timor, who by the power of a militia overthrew a central government oppressive to the right of the people, and was backed by the foreign nation of Indonesia. When they won the war, the...

~~NOT FOR RELEASE UNDER E.O. 13526~~**FBI REPORT**

Six States with least amount of gun restrictions: Murder rates 1991	Six States with MOST amount of gun restric. Murder rate 1991 per 100,000
Idaho..... 1.8 per 100,000	Calif....12.7
Iowa..... 2.0 per 100,000	D.C.....80.6
N.Dakota..... 1.1 per 100,000	NY.....14.2

**U.S. Army Special
Trained BATF Mount
Carmel Raiders**

The names of five active duty
U.S. Army Special Forces
soldiers were entered into the
record during testimony in the
Branch Davidian Trial. This
occurred when defense attorney
Mike DeGuernin asked an FBI
witness if he recognized the
names of five individuals.
Named by DeGuernin were Major

The Romans are Coming

....The only pleasures
and relaxation enjoyed
by the lower classes
have always been their
"Smokes and Beer".
Take these last things
from them and without a
doubt the elite will
discover "Hell is
coming to Breakfast"
Currently the Federal..

CORNVILLE, ARIZONA - MORE BLACK HELICOPTER HARASSMENT

The editor of Resurrection, The Newsletter has informed us
that on February 10 at 10:20 A.M. a black helicopter buzzed...

If you would like to read these stories in full; plus much,
much more in our first Edition of Taking Aim, please fill out the
following form and return to MOM.

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APR 26 '95 10:13 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS PAGE.009

N.O.I. C/O P.O. Box 1416, Roma, NY 13151

MARTIAL LAW RULE - \$15.00

IT'S HERE - NOW!!!

Find out how and when MARTIAL LAW was instituted in America. This book describes in detail, with list of authorities, how America has already fallen under MARTIAL LAW. Fully documented. By Robert W. Wangrud

STATE SOVEREIGNTY - THE RECLAIMING of PUBLIC LANDS - \$5.00.

The plan that's sweeping the West

Conrad Burns, Montana State Senator: "The western states are under siege by the federal government". Nye County Nevada Commissioner, Richard Carver decided to do something about it. Read how Commissioner Carver put the Fed's on notice that they do not own any of the Public Lands in his County. DON'T GET LEFT BEHIND!

PAUL D. WILCHER (ATTORNEY) LETTER TO JANET RENO, RE: WACO - \$12.00

This document exposes the SHADOW GOVERNMENT within the CIA and how it has been using "MIND CONTROL" on people including David Koresh and six of his men. Also exposes a major center for the CIA in Waco, Texas for "MIND CONTROL" experimentation and programming. This center is the "Leadership Management Institute". This document is ripe with exhibits, names, dates, times, and places, that convicts many in places of high public office and trust.

Shortly after sending this letter, Mr. Wilcher was found dead, sitting naked on his toilet - his death was ruled suicide. His death was followed by another "suicide" of Vincent Foster, another attorney, who was one of Bill Clinton's White House Counsels. The proofs are conclusive that both of these Attorney's were MURDERED by the Shadow Government.

The push is on, as one bears witness to the "NEWS" events in early December 1993 on the New York subway...that the individual stated in a dazed, stupor, "I must have done something wrong." He was obviously a CIA pre-programmed asset. This was a pre-planned agenda to continue their efforts to DISARM THE UNORGANIZED MILITIA'S OF THE SEVERAL STATES. All freedom loving Americans need this document to UNDERSTAND WHO AND WHAT YOUR ENEMY IS!!!

This is a HIGH PRIORITY that has created a window of opportunity for us. Upon ordering, you will receive an overview letter and exhibits along with the 101 page Wilcher letter. Distribute this as widely as possible.

"Ruby Creek Massacre" - \$10.00

This book of over 300 pages contains private investigative reports, the 3 indictments against Weaver and Harris, memorandum by Gerry Spence, search warrants, newspaper articles, etc. A must for your library on Government abuse. Remember Vicki and Sam Weaver.

THE MILITIA

New material on how you can activate your States "Unorganized Militia" in your county. Material includes: Brief history of the militia and how it still applies today. The Declaration of the Militia of Montana, Sanders County, Unit Alpha; and the "Rules and Regulations" containing the structure of the militia and how it operates. This will soon be the only lawful way for you to keep and bear arms. PRICE: \$5.00 or FREE with a minimum order of \$25.00

APR 26 '95 10:14 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS PAGE.010

SEN. C/110 Box 1486, Noxon, MT 59853**PATRIOT REPORT: -**

Monthly reports on gun controls, U.N. troops, prison camps, FEMA, martial law. Send \$5.00 for catalog, trial subscription to

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Ponderay, ID. 83852

"EXECUTIVE ORDERS for the NEW WORLD ORDER"

A one page flyer condensing the Presidential Executive Orders designed to take away all of our rights. Example: Order #11000; Seizure of all American people for work forces. Excellent hand outs for your meetings and mailings. --Price: \$0.50 for each; 10 for \$2.00; 50 for \$6.00; 100 for \$10.00;

HAND OUTS - \$.50 EACH OR 10 FOR \$1.00

TAKE A LESSON FROM THE SWISS. This hand out will definitely raise the eyebrows of the most serious Militia doubter. The swiss are lite years ahead of America.

COMMUNISM vs GUN OWNERSHIP. This hand out explains the Communist theory on who should own guns and who shouldn't. Could this be happening in America today?

WHEN WILL IT HAPPEN This hand out shows what may happen in the very near future after America has been completely disarmed.

WHILE PEOPLE SLEEP, PORTRAIT of an AMERICAN TRAITOR, and AN OPEN LETTER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE by Red Beckman. Red explains in these three hand outs what has happened to America and how "We the People" can turn it around by our vote in the Jury Box. Red is one of the foremost authorities in the U.S. on the rights of the Jury. If you know anybody on Jury duty today they need to read these hand outs. Order NOW.

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NETWORKING

Thank you for being part of your local PITCH-IN-TEAM. We have been given time to inform our friends and neighbors of the coming judgments of our land. Lets pitch in and use the time to the fullest, preparing ourselves and each other so we might survive what ever comes our way.

By no means do we suggest that this list of names is secure from infiltrators who would destroy what's left of the American Way. What follows are suggestions to help keep us out of trouble, discovered the hard way by people who continue to pay the price.

- 1) Beware of all strangers. Historically, resistance to tyrants has taken the form of small autonomous groups (cells) whose members know and trust one another from long experience.
- 2) Beware of the man who is "to perfect". He says all the right things; He needs little persuasion, plus, he supplies a substantial amount of money.
- 3) Be double aware of a stranger who proposes illegal activities. You will soon find him testifying against you in federal court.
- 4) Beware of those who draw checks from the enemy. They are very likely to have divided loyalties.
- 5) Avoid drunks, drug users and anyone of unstable character. Always choose quality over quantity.
- 6) Beware of someone whose intellect, education and background appear different from those with whom he attempts to associate. Most people interrelate with others of similar interests and background.
- 7) Do a little investigation. To be sure, the federales can create good cover. But they seldom bother because up to now resistance groups have almost never checked their associates backgrounds.
- 8) Recognize the ruthlessness of the tyrants and act accordingly. A government which will mass murder innocent families, including women and children, is not going to play "fair" with you.
- 9) Beware of signing up for anything or you could find yourself taking orders from F.E.M.A. as much of California and 23 other states are now finding out.
- 10) Recognize the media tactics and don't react to buzz words: Religious Separatists; White Supremacist; Tax Protesters; Cultists; Bigots; Nazis and other words which the masses are conditioned to hate. After the media has demonized the target, as in Weaver and Waco, the government is free to murder as it chooses.

We must create our own means of informing the masses to cause them to be sympathetic to our cause (learn to fish in friendly waters). We must be committed to spreading the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Endeavor always to send messages which will ring true in the hearts of our countrymen. There is an enormous amount of moral and ideological high ground which has been abandoned by our foes. Claim and use it.

As our cause continues to rapidly grow in numbers and knowledge, it has not been without pain. We must all bear in mind that we are volunteers from all walks of life. Each of us must guard against ego eruptions. To be a good leader, you must first be willing to be a servant. Study the book *The Art Of War* over and over again. You must earn respect - don't demand it.

Keep it simple - building from the bottom up - private cells and public meetings. Have you ever tried to build a house starting with the shingles first? The militia is as strong as the preparedness of each individual family.

we are sheepherders

APR 26 '95 10:14 FROM SEN MAX BAUCUS - HLNA TO DC-LEGIS PAGE.011

"If we love wealth better than liberty...May your chains set lightly upon you,
and may posterity forget that we were our countrymen." - Samuel Adams

MORE AUDIO TAPES - \$3.00 EACH

- Tape No. 205: CONCENTRATION CAMPS By: Attorney William R. Pabst
 Tape No. 206: MILITARY STATUS By: Dr. P. Beter
 Tape No. 207: HIGH TREASON (Address on JFK) By: Robert Groden
 Tape No. 208: RETRAYAL OF AMERICA By: Ambassador David Funderburk
 Tape No. 209: THE GLOBAL VILLAGE By: Bill and Penny Bowen
 2 TAPE SERIES - \$6.00 FOR SET
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 Tape No. 211: NO SUBSTITUTE FOR VICTORY - Speech to U.S. Congress
 and
DUTY, HONOR and COUNTRY - Farewell address to
 West Point. By General Douglas MacArthur

M.O.M.
 C/O P.O Box 1486
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Focus—4 of 29 Stories

(Copyright 1995 The Times Mirror Co. Los Angeles Times)

May 21, 1995, Sunday, Bulldog Edition

Section: Part A; Page 2; Advance Desk

Length: 2527 words

Headline: The Anger Rebellion: Anti-Government mania on the march;

Paramilitary: Bombing awakens a shocked Nation to a fury in its midst. Experts warn that organized opposition has become part of mainstream America in 20th century.

Byline: By David Foster and Arlene Levinson, Associated Press.

Focus Dateline: Clayton, Idaho.

Body: In the sagebrush canyon sheltering this town of 28 souls, don't bother looking for armed militias to find rebellion in the air.

Peace-loving Americans are angry enough.

"If We Can't Reform It, We Will Overthrow It!" warns a bumper sticker pasted to a window of the Clayton Mercantile, a general store and bar along the Salmon River.

Inside, three loaded rifles and a shotgun lean against a wall. They belong to the owners, Marilyn and Kirk Brower, who offer a visitor a milk crate to sit on and chat.

Who's fed up with the federal government? Lots of folks, said Marilyn, 48. Her gripes soon grow as thick as the firs and pines on the national forests surrounding this central Idaho hamlet.

"They tell us we can't log, we can't mine, cattlemen can't turn their cattle out. Yes, people are upset. People are angry," she said.

Upon hearing of the Oklahoma City bombing, Marilyn was not surprised.

"I was horrified," she said. "But not surprised. That first day, when everybody was saying Middle Eastern terrorists, I said they better look a lot closer to home."

In the month since a truck bomb tore up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 men, women and children, a shocked nation has awakened to a fury in its midst. The arrests of suspects Timothy J. McVeigh and Terry L. Nichols, who hold fierce antipathy toward the federal government, have exposed an undercurrent of right-wing extremists who walk and talk violence in the name of protecting freedom.

Experts estimate no more than 100,000 Americans, probably many fewer, belong to paramilitary groups, which wouldn't even fill the Rose Bowl. But they warn that the same feeling of alienation that feeds such organized efforts has become part of mainstream American attitudes in the late 20th Century.

"Some of these people hold beliefs that are charitably regarded as paranoid," said Chip Berlet, who analyzes anti-democratic movements for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Mass. "But the concerns are real, and these people are just like your neighbor. They're angry and frustrated."

In the rubble of Oklahoma City, more questions than answers remain about where this anger will lead: Why would Americans wage war on America? What kind of anti-government fever lashes out and kills babies?

Could such insanity explode again? The violence of the radical Weather Underground did not stifle anti-war sentiment in the 1960s and 1970s. Why should outrage over the April 19 bombing shame away the disaffections of today?

Marilyn Brower, for example, was wooed by a militia group in Idaho. She found it too extreme for her tastes, but she is still angry.

"People are afraid of the government," she said. "(Former Defense Secretary Robert) McNamara comes out 30 years later and says the Vietnam War was a tragic mistake. We know the Cold War was perpetuated by the industrial-military complex. The public knows the government has lied to us."

Experts say her feelings are increasingly common.

"People feel terribly frustrated about the body politic," said Seymour Martin Lipset, a political sociologist at George Mason University in Fairfax, Va. "They think the people in power aren't interested in people like them."

The reasons are diverse: Despite success on Wall Street, people are losing jobs. Homelessness persists.

Without communism to worry about, Washington is in upheaval over where to direct the federal government's energy and taxpayers' money. Statistics show less crime, but polls show Americans are more concerned about it. The welfare system doesn't work. Sending U.S. troops to the Gulf War, Somalia and Haiti raises questions about the country's role as global peacekeeper while it has woes at home.

Some anxious Americans find comfort voting—or not voting. Some, like Brower, simply let off steam. Pundits read anger in the 1994 Republican sweep. Ross Perot had his better idea. So did House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his “Contract With America.”

History reassures us, and yet frightens us, that this rhetoric of rebellion is as old as our flag.

“If you want to blame anything, you can blame the Bill of Rights,” Lipset said. “We killed the king.”

But for some who feel shut out of the system today, free speech seems a feeble defense against dark powers they believe are rallying against liberty. Particularly in remote and rural strongholds, there are gathering streams of Americans who are deeply afraid.

Afraid of what?

According to right-wing literature: Bar codes. The federal government and its agents. Gun confiscation. A United Nations plotting to become our world Government. Jews. George Bush and his New World Order. Blacks. Republicans. Democrats. Banders. Foreigners. Technology. The IRS. Incumbent politicians. Immigrants, legal or not. A complacent public. International meetings on the environment and population control.

Newsletters of the right weave a world view in which passage of the Brady Bill or the federal government's fiery raid on the Branch Davidians at Waco—or even the Oklahoma City bombing—are not isolated events, but part of an international plot to enslave freedom-loving Americans.

A paranoid fringe looking for scapegoats is nothing new in America, either. But today's technology gives fear and blame a broader reach, spread by fax and phone hot lines, by shortwave radio and the Internet.

This web of fear has found new life in the past year's rapid rise of militias—small, ad hoc armies with names like the Gadsden Minutemen in Alabama or the Hillsborough Troop of Dragoons in New Hampshire.

Many such groups train in the woods with modern weapons. They cache food and ammunition against the impending U.N. invasion they foresee. They make veiled threats toward elected officials from the local sheriff to President Clinton.

Those who track extremists say that some militias share common roots with violently racist and anti-Semitic groups, but that there appears to be little central organization.

Few recruits start out mad at some abstract threat like the New World Order. For most, it begins much closer to home, one personal gripe at a time.

Forty people are crowded into a meeting room at the Pioneer Club tavern in Twin Falls, Idaho. An ice machine hums at the side of the room. Smoke and laughter drift in from the bar whenever the door is opened.

This is the monthly meeting of the local chapter of the U.S. Militia Assn., one of the nation's largest militia groups, claiming 5,000 members in 11 states.

It is the chapter's first meeting since the Oklahoma City bombing. A CNN film crew is here. So is the group's national leader, Samuel Sherwood, who has driven two hours from his home in Blackfoot to be the evening's featured speaker.

In the front row is Bill Trowbridge, 60, a grizzled and toothless blasting contractor who hasn't filed an income tax return since 1977 and figures he owes the IRS \$800,000. He's here because “I don't want no more rights of mine taken away.”

Fran Williams, 29, sits in a wheelchair to one side. Paralyzed in an all-terrain vehicle accident five years ago, she's angry the federal government said she was entitled to disability benefits, then tried to take them away.

Bill Steward, a 51-year-old carpenter, rises from his chair in ire as he lists his complaints about the government, from nuclear waste stockpiled in Idaho to police who stop motorists merely because they are seen leaving a bar.

“I don't need the federal government to tell me how to run my life—from seat belts to speeding—or how to raise my kid,” Steward says.

Hearty applause greets Sherwood, 45, a free-lance computer consultant who favors Army surplus garb and bills himself as the “reasonable militiaman.”

He is measured and moderate in news interviews, patiently explaining that his 18-month-old group doesn't tramp around the hills with guns or plot against the government. It's simply a political association, he says, seeking to preserve individual liberties, chief among them the right to own guns.

But tonight, the commanding six-footer shows a different side. Pacing and waving his arms in an evangelistic style that's part Rush Limbaugh, part Pat Robertson, he rouses his audience to prepare for dire times ahead.

He expounds for more than an hour on taxes (too high), on a woman's place (in the home), on homosexuality (“the dung of perversion”), and on a star called

Wormwood (due, the Bible prophesies, to crash into Earth and kill one-third of all living things).

"Why are we here?" he intones. "We are here for the Unforeseen. We are here to prepare for those things which we do not know of, but have been warned about."

Sherwood "was striking chords left and right," said Scott Moody, 27, a cowhand here for his first militia meeting. He taps his jacket pocket. "I've got the membership application right here."

Taking up arms against government is an American tradition.

A year before the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1788, the anti-tax Shay's Rebellion enlisted debt-ridden farmers in Massachusetts. Armed protesters prevented debtor trials and died trying to take over a federal arsenal.

This century saw anarchist and anti-war bombings.

More recently, Robert Jay Mathews, a white supremacist, declared war on the United States and led a terror campaign that included armed robberies, church bombings and the murder of Denver radio host Alan Berg in 1984.

"If you go back to the early 1980s or late 1970s, you had groups and individuals, such as Louis Beam and his Texas Emergency Reserve, a 2,500-person, fully armed military operations practicing maneuvers in Texas," said Morris Dees, director of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks and takes such groups to court.

Beam's compatriots, Dees said, "would say they hate the government and sense a plot, primarily by Jews, to force the world into a one-world government."

In recent years, some militias have shown similar violent ambitions.

Last year, federal agents in Virginia raided the home of a construction worker who started the paramilitary Blue Ridge Hunt Club. Besides illegal guns and silencers, investigators found documents advocating guerrilla warfare, assassination, and attacks on airports and bridges, all to fight gun control. The leader and a gun dealer member await sentencing after federal weapons charges.

In February, two members of the anti-tax Minnesota Patriots Council were convicted on federal terrorism charges in a plot to use chemical poison against unnamed human targets.

Some 200 militia groups exist in at least 40 states, though they often comprise no more than a few buddies with a mailing list.

Many are armchair soldiers who subscribe to militia newsletters, such as USA Patriot magazine, and maybe attend a meeting or two. Fewer still join in weekend exercises.

Dees describes the militia movement as being a loose collection of five or six "generals" at the top, with a tier of 50 to 150 leaders below them, and maybe 5,000 to 10,000 hard-core followers—"people who consider themselves blood brothers, people you don't know about until something happens."

More worrisome than the size of militias, according to Dees and others, is the handful of leaders who stoke their members' paranoia.

"The public side is to get on talk shows, publish material that's not too violent, and then get people willing to take it one step further," Dees said. "They take them right up to the edge, and give them a push."

Fifteen miles from the Idaho state line is Noxon, Mont., 350 people in a corner of paradise. Ospreys nest along the gravelly river channel of the Clark Fork. Cattle kick up their heels in the valley's spring-green pastures.

The peaceful setting cannot soothe the distress percolating in the Landmark Cafe. Noxon is headquarters for the Militia of Montana, less an armed camp than a clearinghouse for anti-government, paramilitary and survivalist books and videotapes.

Since the bombing, the group says its phone and fax machines have been busy almost constantly with requests for items like a \$10 start-up kit containing a militia networking manual, pictures of Soviet tanks in the United States and samples of the militia newsletter, *Taking Aim*.

The four-man staff also sends out books on "defensive" military tactics, which in their view can include setting booby traps and shooting down helicopters.

Sample items from their catalogue: "Sniper Training and Employment" for \$10; "Hand to Hand Fighting" for \$7.

A book called "Blueprint for Survival," offered for \$20, contains this helpful hint about claymore mines: "Since the claymore has a massive back blast, great care has to be taken to position them in an area where they won't injure you as well as your enemy."

John Trochmann, who founded the militia in January, 1994, with his brother, David, and nephew, Randy, says such materials answer the concerns of government-fearing Americans.

Of course, it helps to cultivate those concerns, and that is a Militia of Montana specialty.

Bob Fletcher sits in the Landmark, his hand shaking as he digs into a Montana-size hamburger. A full-time militia staff researcher, Fletcher's voice rises and falls in a hypnotic rhythm as he recites threats most Americans know nothing about:

The government has developed weather-tampering techniques to create drought and famine, so the New World Order can starve millions in America and control the rest. Tiny transponders implanted under the skin can track you worldwide, change your personality, or leave you sterile.

Two hours into his spiel, the most skeptical are spooked. If just half of this is true, Fletcher is questioned, then the invasion has already begun and the next logical step is the strike back—right?

Fletcher holds up both hands.

"You sound like a militant individual," he said. "We must stand down from you. I don't want to be responsible for initiating a civil war in America. You start it. I'll follow you."

Later, Trochmann laughs upon hearing about Fletcher's conversation. A soft-spoken 51-year-old with an elegant white mustache and beard, a man who enjoys square-dancing with his wife, Trochmann is as mild-mannered as Fletcher is agitated.

"You've been Fletcherized," he said. "He's our prophet of doom—his one purpose is to Fletcherize people and get them to pay attention."

Since the Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton and other government officials have urged measures to combat terrorism and blasted the poisonous rhetoric of talk radio.

Not addressed are uncertainties rattling a wider range of Americans, and scaring a few enough to launch their own private war. Some of the curious at militia meetings say nothing, but sit in the back row, nodding furiously and pounding their fists.

"I call it the rattlesnake stage," Trochmann said. "They want to lash out at anything to try to right the wrongs they've discovered."

But what about those who take a different message from Trochmann's catalogue of bellicose books and videos?

That person "has interpreted it totally wrong," Trochmann said earnestly. "He's been watching too much violence on television."

Graphic: Photo, Survivalist John Trochmann, Militia of Montana leader, and his wife, Carolyn, pause to take in view of the river near their home in Noxon, Mont.

*"Let the High Praises of God
Be in Their Mouth."*

In Their Hands - 1949

ARYAN



NATIONS

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Church of Jesus Christ Christian

(208) 772-2406

— Attachment
'A'

April 5, 1995

In regards to John Trochmann's comments about the Aryan Nations

Why lie about the number of times here, especially when you came over several times for Bible studies? John, you even helped us write out a set of rules for our code of conduct on the church grounds. For all the problems you claim you found at the Church, as there always will be with any group of people, why did you immediately move skinheads to your place and then whine about their conduct? Maybe you're just a first class whiner when things don't suit you?

We expel abusers of women and children and then offer safe refuge to those same women and children. We can't say the same of some of your associates. Abusers of alcohol and drugs are kicked out when proven guilty and then they join your groups or they go on speaking tours for the human rights task force.

We have had trouble with federal agents at the Church, and always will, but you John, are constantly intact with the F.B.I. and the B.A.T.F., yet you have always accused others of being federal agents of one kind or another. You condemned Randy Weaver for not fighting to the last breath and bullet against an army of men, but yet cower and lock your car door against two little ol' Montana deputies. They must make deputies pretty mean and tough in Montana. We do thank God that no one was hurt while you were there trying to run the world.

We would remind you, Mr. Trochmann, that this is a Church of God, rather than an armed compound, like your headquarters is reported to be. We understand that you do not accept Jesus the Christ to be the Son of God and our Savior. We would therefore deduct that you must be some sort of "anti-Christ" that we choose to have no contact with. We will though, pray that you may some day see his light of love, and eternal life. We would hope that this can happen while you are busy cleaning up everyone's back yard, and maybe your own, if there is enough time.

Mr. Trochmann, be advised that we do not desire to have your name mentioned with ours either in any of your future press releases, or planned interviews, that is unless you would like us there to mention names, dates, places, and statistics from your past. The government you so hate is probably happy to see racial kindred now fighting amongst themselves, courtesy of your comments.

We do however, fully support the militia as a constitutional provision for preservation of Our Nation, i.e. Race.

Arvan Nations Staff

— A Attachment
"B"

Ravalli Republic

OPINION



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Page 2 - Thursday, August 25, 1994



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Opinion

Racism takes on a new face

I read with great interest recent news reports from around Montana about recent activities of a group calling themselves "Militia of Montana" (MOM). The thing that really caught my eye was the effort of one of the main organizers, a fellow named John Trochmann, to deny his association with the Aryan Nations Church in Hayden Lake, Idaho. John Trochmann can deny it all he wants but the fact is, he has had a long-standing relationship with the Aryan Nations and its followers. I know because I was there.

In various parts of Montana, fear, hatred and distrust are fast becoming "family values," and at the center of these growing families of hatred and bigotry is the family of John Trochmann and his Militia of Montana.

Often masking their hatred behind code words, the Bible, and out-right lies, the Trochmanns have been able to spread their beliefs of white supremacy in the name of God and the constitution. Playing on themes and ideas often associated with their not-so-distant cousin, the Christian Coalition (gun control, anti-abortion, and taxes), the Militia of Montana, and hence the Trochmanns, are finding a much larger audience for their hate than their uniformed brothers at Aryan Nations.

As a one time racist and racist spokesman for the Christian Identity compound known as Aryan Nations, I had the opportunity to meet with the Trochmann family and deal with them on both a personal, and professional level, sharing with the Trochmanns the same beliefs of white supremacy and the role of government based on the racist faith of Christian Identity. In the summer of 1990, while attending the Aryan World Congress at Aryan Nations, I participated in a workshop given by

John Trochmann. John spoke at length on the merits of using the Bible and God, not the swastika and Hitler, to advance his brand of racism, bigotry, and Christian Identity. Christian Identity teaches that God's chosen people are white and that all people of color are soulless people and are therefore not citizens of the United States. It twists the Christian Bible to teach that the Jewish people should be exterminated because they (Jews) are the children of Satan. The Trochmanns join their fellow Christian Identity believers in believing that the Jewish people have seized control of the government.

From teaching skinheads the Christian Identity doctrines at their home in the summer of 1990 or holding "church services" at the Aryan compound in the Fall, the Trochmanns are respected leaders in the organized racist movement in Montana and Idaho.

Preaching the virtues of being a good neighbor and friend as the way to advance their racism, the Trochmanns are attempting a cosmetic make over a la David Duke. By distancing themselves from the more obnoxious bigots, the Trochmanns are positioning themselves for success here in Montana.

By incorporating race and joining with those calling for a return of "family values," the racist and religious right are getting poised to destroy all families of disbelievers and those not born white.

Floyd Cochran was an activist in the hate movement, and specifically with the Aryan Nation in Hayden Lake, Idaho, for a number of years. He quit the hate movement in 1992. He now devotes his time to educating the public about the dangers of the hate movement.



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